

SUMMARY AND FREE
REFLECTIONS,
IN WHICH
THE GREAT OUTLINE ONLY,
AND
PRINCIPAL FEATURES,
OF THE
Following SUBJECTS
Are impartially Traced,
AND
CANDIDLY EXAMINED.

CHELMSFORD:
Printed by CLACHAR, FROST, and GRAY;
FOR THE AUTHOR.

1783.

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CHERLWATER
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☞ *All but the Vth, VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth were published in 1771.*

(v)

T O T H E

RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

S I R,

FROM the general Tenour of
your Conduct in the impor-
tant Cause of Parliamentary Free-
dom I may justly flatter myself
that there exists some Degree of
Congeniality in our Sentiments;
and

and altho' your's may not precisely quadrate with *every* Idea these Tracts are intended to convey, yet, will that Part at least, which we have both publicly avowed, be, I hope, deemed sufficient to assert their Claim to the Protection of Mr. Pitt; had they been obtruded on you, at the Time you was so ably employed in the laborious Functions of that high Office which every true Friend to his Country cannot but regret your Resignation of, however sincerely he must applaud your Motives, I might have perchance incurred some Risque of Censure; as the Matter now stands, the only Interest they can possibly have in View, is the Endeavour to
 secure

secure a Patron, from whose approved good Sense, Integrity, and Candor, they will be entitled to expect an unprejudiced and fair Perusal; and that the Zeal and Purity of Intention they were written in, would plead forcibly, with such a Character, in defence of (probably) many Errors, which could by no Chance escape the Penetration of so nice a Judge; at any Rate, as the distinguished Advocate of that glorious Cause, long since unequivocally treated in the following Sheets, you will, I trust, however slight the Offering, generously receive it; for to whom else could it, with such Propriety be dedicated,

(viii)

dedicated, as to the auspicious
Champion of the dearest Interests of
our Country.

I have the Honour to be,

With unfeigned Regard,

Sir, your most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR,

Nov. 1st, 1783.

As the following Letter (which was many Months ago addressed to Mr. Pitt) contains objections to *his* particular mode of Reform, and to the Arguments he is said to have employed in the House of Commons as introductory to it, the Author conceives that the annexing it in this Place, however irregular, may not be altogether uninteresting: it likewise serves to convey his explicit Sentiments respecting the number of Representatives, which tho' he had not before precisely specified, he always wished to leave unaltered. No Answer to it whatever having been yet received, the Author presumes that Mr. Pitt holds fast to his hundred additional County Members.

S I R,

June 4, 1783.

PERMIT me to flatter myself that the Packet which accompanies this Letter, will be so fortunate as to plead successfully in
 A its

its excuse. I will only add, on the Subject of the little Volume I have the honour to present you with, I purposely omitted to request your permission for thus addressing it, that you might be in no sort answerable for its Contents. As the few Copies I have printed of it, were not intended for Sale, because not fitted to every Reader, should you think they might be acceptable to any of your Friends, I will gladly send you as many as you please, confident of their being then placed in proper hands.

Now Sir, indulge me as one of the People, in the Liberty heartily to condole with you on the failure of your second noble Endeavour to serve them : I say condole, for had I been in the House of Commons, I should certainly have voted with you, although I candidly confess, I think, (independent of any Prejudices I may be supposed to have) the Motion you made, was insufficient to the Object you had in view ; unless you could have accompanied
it

its Success, with the *constant* Attendance of every Member, and that the House would in that Case have contained them ; for you will I trust, readily grant that the well disciplined Mercenaries would in any other, be still an over-match for those whose Attendance is uncontrouled, and unconditional.

In your Arguments against the amputation of Boroughs, I cannot doubt but you were actuated, more by the difficulties that might attend your Endeavours to persuade that Measure (at the time when a shameless Coalition loudly proclaims its Necessity, and yet increases the Opposition to it) than by any actual repugnance in your own Feelings. Though possessed of Heroism sufficient to urge you to the attack of Monsters, you are not yet Quixote enough to encounter Windmills, like the rest of your visionary Associates, as we are liberally stiled by those who differ from us in Opinion ; for my own Share, without attempting to account

count for that absurd disparity in the Antient distribution of Writs, and Charters, (which upon the single Comparison of the Counties of York and Cornwall is but too glaring) it suffices to a plain understanding like mine, that *it is* grossly absurd; and whether it was originally the interested Act of Tyranny, or the neglect of Imbecility, is Matter of total indifference to an oppressed Nation, who now see and feel the Blot, who have power to correct it, and, when their very Existence is at stake, will certainly in the end, insist on that Correction.

It is argued, that it would be robbing Individuals of their Freehold; allowed, if they are permitted to carry its Produce to Market; but, as we scarcely beg the Question in deeming such Traffic contraband, which yet constitutes its only value; what in Fact do we rob them of? it would disgrace my Paper but to express it in the abominable Terms it deserves; their Powers of Constituency, if honestly exercised, are totally unprofitable; and should the Proprietors
of

of Boroughs continue so churlishly tenacious of (what should be) merely barren Privileges, can it be unjust? when no other Resource for public Preservation is left us, to compel their sharing them with their Neighbours? I hope, and mean, by a voluntary and generous Decree of Parliament. Respecting Usurpations on private Property, with a view to general Benefit, Have we not many instances, however sacred the Grant, of the abolition of *other Monopolies*, on the discovery of their being prejudicial to the Community? And with what an atrocious Degree of Cruelty and partial Injustice, is the wise Maxim of *salus Populi suprema Lex*, occasionally exemplified, in the necessary Sacrifices to public Safety, that are made in Times of Pestilence? The bare relation of such Precedents is painful.

It is my zealous Wish, that what I advanced twelve Years since, may not prove prophetic; this Kingdom one would think, had already suffered enough by the obstinate and venal
Opposition

Opposition of its Ministers to the general Voice of the People ; they yet seem on this Point to solicit, as they have of late invariably done, the enforcement of what at first was temperately requested. I have said the Agency of Necessity was powerful, the Calamities of their Ancestors not a Century and Half ago, might remind them, that it is likewise rough and lawless, to a Degree that even Imagination starts at !

If, under its present Circumstances, this Government *can* with propriety be called a mixed one, the democratic Part surely is at best but spurious, to be legimate and pure, and to realize the theory of its glorious Reputation, EVERY MAN SHOULD HAVE A SHARE IN IT. With what Conscience else ? or by what Law but that of Tyrants can you extort the Obedience of the nine-tenths that are unrepresented ? During the Feudal Times of the Plantagenets, when they were newly conquered, and had scarcely the Shadow of a Representation, their
Taxes

Taxes at least were as light; their Situation was much altered by the Alienation of Estates that was permitted under the Tudors, the only good they ever did!* tho' from a wretched Motive, yet were the People a Hundred and Twenty Years e'er they began to feel their own Importance; in Forty more, under the Stewarts, it was fully asserted; I am sorry to add, in the wantonness of Triumph abused.

Our present Object, if (as the original Suggester) I may be allowed the Liberty to urge it, is, not barely to procure such a Representation as shall freely utter the real uninfluenced Sentiments

* This may perhaps have been rather too roundly asserted, for the Reformation must be acknowledged a very essential Benefit; yet was its author actuated in the establishment of it by no better Motives than Lust, Vanity, and Avarice: The last sordid Passion had exclusive predominancy in his Father's Character.—Upon the whole, every Action of the Tudor Race, had palpably a *present* Tendency to aggrandize themselves, and to enslave their Subjects, however *eventually* productive of a contrary Effect.

Sentiments of the People, but *likewise* such a one as shall leave no colourable Plea for future Reproach, from even the obscurest Individual: How far my *Second Plan* is, without Expence Buffle, or Confusion, sufficiently adapted to that desirable and important End, I very *sincerely* submit to your Judgment; and if that, or any other as extensive, and as uninvincible, meets but general Approbation, I have little doubt from the rapid Progress it has already made, but that it will with Patience and steady Perseverance, soon possess itself sufficiently of the People's Mind, to secure its adoption; the Prejudices of the disinterested are already removed, and even the most bigoted *Antiquarians* dare now contemplate and examine this Bugbear: How, in that Case, can they long withhold their Assent to so beneficial and clear a Proposition? urged as it is in the well grounded Complaints and unremitting Solicitations of the People.

I yet wonder at your Cousin, whom I have for more than Twenty Years had the honor

to

to be well known to, and whose unprejudiced and liberal Mind, I heartily join with all the World in admiring.

I will make no further Apology for this Letter, the truly Patriotic and public Part you have acted in this glorious Enterprize, must necessarily subject you to much Trouble and Importunity of this Kind, happy if that were all! and that you had not (to repel the wretched Efforts of Envy and Malevolence) full Exercise for that Integrity and Fortitude you are so amply endowed with; you cannot however but feel yourself on these Occasions *undique tutus*, and I have as little Doubt, that you will completely Triumph in your Turn, tho' with more Liberality and Moderation than your Opponents have shewn.

Let me only add, that the not putting my Name to my Book, was by no Means from any Expectation or View of remaining in Concealment, but from Motives which to your Sagacity it is needless to suggest.

I have the honor to be, &c.

26 MR 59

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SUMMARY AND FREE
REFLECTIONS.

I HAVE often wondered that old Montaigne's plain simple Manner of setting down his Thoughts on detached Subjects, just as they accidentally presented themselves, without any regular Pursuit, has so seldom been adopted. I am confident that the great Repository of Science would be much benefited by it, and that if (in the Way of Essay-writing) nothing was admitted but what was strictly in point to the matter under

B Dis-

Discussion, or that tended to throw some new Light upon it, the Penetration, and Fancy of Authors, who aspired to a just Attainment of that Title, would be put to greater Efforts, as it would be impossible by so ingenuous a Procedure, to fill even a moderate Pamphlet on any single Topic. I am, besides, clear that many an interesting Observation has been lost, for want of a plodding Perseverance to induce the spinning it out into a Treatise, when the same inventive Genius, had it once occurred, could (with sufficient Indulgence to his Vivacity) have furnished Volumes of entertaining and useful Reflections, upon the good old Frenchman's Plan.

Not that I think any Man can assert with Truth, that he will advance nothing but what is absolutely new, and genuinely

nuinely his own. In the first Case, he cannot be supposed to know all that has been said; in the second, his Memory may easily betray him into involuntary Repetition, the premeditated Plagiary only, is blameable, and then only when he transcribes solely to encrease the Size of his Work.

There is nevertheless much credit due to the laborious Compilers, from Writers of all Ages, for their Industry, Judgment, and Ingenuity, in selecting, ranging, and dressing the various Opinions of Hundreds, so as to be ascribable to none in particular; it is besides, of real Service, to the Indolent, and Dissipated, to whose Want of Application, it administers a cheap and speedy Means of Instruction.

After what I have said, it is more than probable, that if I follow the Tract I have prescribed, I shall be censured as assuming the Title of Ingenious; no Matter, almost every Man, if he consults his own Feelings, will find himself in the same Predicament; and I make no doubt, but even the unprejudiced Socrates, in the very Moment that he declared he knew nothing, felt the Propriety of the wise Men, and of the Oracles's Decision, in his Favour, and was well convinced how much he relatively excelled in Wisdom; nor was his Veracity in any Sort impeached, by this paradoxical Profession of Ignorance, which was probably, only an equivocal Avowal of the Fallacy, or Inconclusiveness of every specious Doctrine he had taught, and a Belief that he could with equal Success, have maintained the contrary,

trary, or that he thought them at least, far wide of Demonstration,

It is however hoped, that they under whose Perusal, the more serious Parts of the following Reflections may chance to fall, will have Candour enough, not to be offended at the Air of Decision, with which they seem to be delivered; I am for my own Share convinced of the moral Truth of my Assertions, it is therefore just that I should speak, in the positive Language of Conviction: Nor can there be on that account the least danger of its imposing on the Unguarded; it is on the contrary, the ambiguous, conscientious, masked Essay, one should distrust, that only mines the Roots of Prejudice, and leaves the Reader to himself, to compleat their Overthrow.

These few artless Lines, strike too openly, and directly into the Matter, not to be immediately rejected, by all who are not already far advanced in Doubt, and where that is the Case, I dare affirm, there is nothing here which if it fixes, can have the Shadow of a pernicious Tendency.

At all events, I pretend to no exclusive Title to right Reason, in differing from the Opinions of others; and I flatter myself that those, to whom I may happen to be known, will confess that I have been ever as ready to attend, and (where I could in Conscience, do it,) to assent to such Truths as were advanced, as to deliver what I deemed for myself.

CONJECTURES FOUNDED ON MR. LOCKE'S
OPINION OF SPIRIT, AND ITS PRO-
PERTIES.

TOWARDS the End of Mr. Locke's most sensible and elaborate Essay on the Human Understanding, there is an Assertion, which on the first Impression it made upon me, could the unquestioned Integrity of its Author have admitted so rash a Charge against him, I was greatly inclined to censure, as disingenuous; He says, though I do not recollect exactly in what Words, that he believes he could (by an Effort of the Imagination) conceive a Power in Spirit, capable of producing Matter, although he could form no Idea how Matter should produce Spirit.

As it is a Subject of the most curious Speculation, I have often wished that ingenious Man, had been less silent upon it and that instead of barely tantalizing us with his Opinion of the Possibility of solving so interesting a Problem, he had with his usual Candor risked an Explanation, whatever violence his Fancy might have suffered in the Attempt.

Some Years are past since I last read his most useful Work, and as by often meditating on that Part of it (convinced originally of the Fact, and only doubtful if human Reason sufficed to the forming any Hypothesis leading to a *rational* Conception of it,) I at length see it in a fairer Light. In attonement for my former Precipitation, however unequal the Task, I here hazard some

Con-

Conjectures upon the Grounds on which that great Man might possibly have proceeded to found his Solution, had it been required.

First then, I will ascertain the Idea I annex to Spirit, and I hope it will not be thought too indefinite and vague a one, if I call every subtle Vapour, as Air, Flame, Heat, and even Light, by that general Name; each of which, tho' so insubstantial in its natural State, as to elude every Attempt to estimate its Weight, yet demonstrably has a real Existence: But what is most extraordinary, and seems to prove, that the less dense the Spirit, the more coercive are its Powers, Heat though so incomparably lighter than Air, is at least in as great a Degree, more violent in its Effects, and of Heat, that is the most active,

active, which is collected from a Spirit so totally unconnected with Matter, and so incomprehensibly light as the Sun's Rays,

Experiment, though it has not discovered the component Parts of these airy Engines, yet has made their Effects so generally known, as to render the exemplifying them, quite unnecessary, and common Experience has sufficiently enabled us to distinguish our Ideas of them, from those of Matter, which is gross, palpable, and can obviously be removed, estimated, divided, or in short, wrought on as we please.

Both Spirit and Matter, in themselves and unacted upon, I believe totally inert, and that Accident only could bring either of them into Action; that
they

they are equally, both void of animal, or rational Organization, mere Elements; but that Spirit, as the purest, and probably nearest resembling the perfect Essence of the Deity, is that which when he pleases, he organizes and animates, to the Purposes of Reasoning, Willing, and Acting; and even in the limited and clogged State it suffers, when united to our material Bodies, what wonderful Strength and Activity does it not shew? For Bone, Muscle, and Tendon, do but compose the Machine, the real acting, as the willing Power, is the Spirit.

But let us take a further View of it, in its pure, unfettered State, supposing it composed of Elements analogous (tho' rectified in the highest Pitch) to Air, Heat, and Light, organized, animated, and gifted

ed by the Almighty, with Powers equal to the Strength and Activity of its component Parts, it will be then easy (from the known Properties of Air, to conceive such a Being capable of instantly condensing, or dilating itself to any degree or form; what we know of Heat and Light, gives us a clear Idea of its pervading or commixing itself, with whatsoever Matter it would exert its Power over, which I can suppose nearly equal to Annihilation, by the Dispersion which (when amalgamated as it were with a Body) would attend its Explosion, if I may be allowed so to call an instantaneous Dilatation: By the same united Powers I can imagine it in one Moment opaque, diaphanous, pervious, or resisting, as its Density may be superficially, or otherwise directed. With a Fiat, it is cloathed in Adamant, with another, it

is

is a thousand times more light, and yielding than Air.

In short, but for the controuling Hand of its mighty Author, were we to judge of its Powers, by those we justly attribute to its Elements, even in their inanimate State, they would to our limited View, appear little short of Infinite.

It is not extraordinary then, that seen in this Light, (and I presume in any but an organized State, Mr. Locke, never meant to ascribe such Power to Spirit) it should be capable of producing Matter, either on a Portion of itself, or on other inert Spirit by Condensation. In the first Instance, even our own gross Process of daily Restoration, by mere material
Aliment,

Aliment, may sufficiently suggest a power vested in spiritual Beings, by their Creator, of laying down, or occasionally assimilating more of their original Element, and in that Privilege, though probably subject to extensive Limitations, may consist the Immenfity of their Attributes.

As to the bare Fact of the Convertability of inert Spirit, into Matter, a late Discovery of the great Hale, clearly evinces its natural Poffibility, for on the Result of his analytical Experiments on the human *Calculus*, it plainly appears to confift of a Congeries of condensed Air, condensed even to Petrefaction, and reducible to the Element again: On the other hand, every one is well acquainted with the hasty Procefs, by which the far greateft Part of any
given

given Quantity of Gun-powder is (however material) by the Touch of the smallest Spark, as suddenly as wonderfully changed into the most volatile and purest of Spirits.

Upon the whole, I find each convertible to other, but am, on Examination, much inclined to believe with Mr. Locke, that the Parent, or Original of all Element, is Spirit; and that from the general Aptitude of every Thing to Reduction; for we know of no Substance so perfectly incombustible, as not to be by some Process reduced to Vapour, and most Things with great Facility.

This constant Tendency, which even Time, and common Use induces, without the smallest apparent Violence, plainly,

plainly, I think, points out their original State, in which 'till they were drawn forth to their Destination, they harmlessly floated in the vast Magazine of the Universe, though when employed as the component Parts of one great and regular Fabric, previous to their being brought into Action, they were endowed with such relative Properties, and subjected to such Changes, as the Accidents (to which the subordinate Parts of the amazing System are submitted) may require.

It may perhaps be objected, that I rank Air too generally among the Spirits not to be weighed ; it should therefore be observed, that I speak only as to its natural State, which I believe will readily be granted to be by no means ascertainable, unless its possible Degrees of Rarefaction and Condensation could be known ;

known ; and as it is entirely governed by Accident, whether natural, or of human Contrivance ; the utmost that can be said of it, is, that under *given Circumstances*, it is equivalent to a proportional Weight, or possessed of a proportional elastic Force ; which, as was before advanced, amounts barely a Knowledge of its Effects, and those who are well acquainted with them, can never hesitate to allow, that all they want of Infinite, is the Power of Self-direction, which by animal Organization is fully implied.

C.

THOUGHTS

THOUGHTS ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCY,
AND GENERAL ELECTIONS.

IT is an Observation asserted to by all Parties, that the Property of Englishmen is better secured by their Laws, than that of the Subjects of any other Nation, and the Protection of those Laws, however intricate they may be, is, at a sufficiently easy Rate, procurable to those who have any Property worth defending: But can the same be justly asserted of their once so much boasted Liberty? It is a Question, I fear, too obviously resolvable in the Negative, and but too likely to remain so, whilst our Representatives in Parliament, continue to be chosen after the original
Mode

Mode of Election, which though undoubtedly an excellent one, at the Time of its first Institution, has ceased to answer the End, from that Period, when the Revenue, became so great, as to admit of Employments enough, and sufficiently profitable, to enable the minister, who can deal them out with Judgment, to secure a constant Majority in the House of Commons.

The trite Sentence, " I have a Right, after having bought you, to sell you," is tacitly acceded to, and wrought into Practice by every Party in its Turn, and that so openly, that Venality is now no longer reproachful; a vast Share of the public Treasure (as some one has justly observed, though in different Terms) seems every Session exposed to Scramble; and in Truth, it is not extraordinary that

each Pretender should in this Case, pocket the most he can get ; for, *Such a one is he ? Such is his Neighbour.*

There is no Action in itself so vicious, but it will by universal Practice be so palliated, as even totally to have the Odium annexed to it, removed ; the present State of national Corruption, gives it sufficient Proof, and will (one may without the Gift of Prophecy foresee) backed by our immense Debt, in a very few years encrease the Convulsions we have lately struggled under, to a compleat Dissolution.

It will be then, and not before, that emerging from Distresses we can at present only guess at, the faulty Parts of the British Constitution, may be restored ; but I fear it will be in some
Sort

Sort necessary to lop the rotted Extremities ; I mean the Privilege of chusing Representatives, so basely prostituted by the Boroughs.

Whatever *they* may deserve, for the Sake of their Posterity, I am far from wishing to deprive them of their Rights, as constituent Members of one great Body ; but I can conceive no Means of re-establishing independent and free Parliaments, more equitable and efficacious, than that of vesting the Right of Election solely in the Counties, and confirming the Power of voting for Members, to those only who are possessors of such *landed* Property, as may be in general supposed to place them above the Temptation of a common Bribe. If, for Instance, every Freeholder of thirty Pounds a year and upwards, was triennially

nially convened to the most central Market town in the County, there to give his Votes in favour of as many as each County with its Boroughs, ought (*proportionably to its Extent, Riches, and Inhabitants*) to send Members to Parliament, it would, I believe, be the most permanent Method of procuring an able and fair Representation of the Kingdom; besides, the Multitude having no Business there, would render general Elections (were they even annual) much less prejudicial to Industry, which suffers at present not more perhaps, from the Riot and Drunkenness that precedes Election, than from an Expectation of the Septennial Bribe, they have been taught by Custom to reckon, and in a Dependence upon which, they behave with a proportional Degree of Idleness and Insolence.

I pre-

I pretend not to know the Authority by which such a Change, or rather Amendment in the Constitution can be ordained, I only say that *Necessity is a powerful Agent*, and that it will (if ever the Exigence of the Times, occasions its taking place) be universally beneficial; for it is next to impossible that a truly independent Body of Men, invested with full Powers to serve itself, and its Constituents, should fail of Success; and I never will imagine, that a King of Great-Britain (who might be then justly said to reign over a free People) could ever reasonably regret a Change, which would only contribute to settle, confirm, and enlarge his Empire.

The only Losers would be the present Proprietors of Boroughs, but as it

would be a Confiscation juſtly due to ſuch contraband Traffic, though many worthy People might be involved in it, who are only by Inheritance Receivers of all that ill-gotten Property, yet it is to be hoped, that as real Patriots, they would without Reluctance acquieſce in ſuch a Sacrifice to public Good.

As to parliamentary Influence, it would be then deposited (where a Truſt of that Importance ſhould be) in the Breſts of the moſt Able, Popular, and Wealthy ; but in order to the effectually obviating that moſt dangerous Evil Miniſterial Influence, which will be ever inſeparable from the *permanent* Power of Placemen, as the Conſtituents of each County would (by the above Plan) be ſo reduced, as conveniently to be known, and regiſtered, proviſional Right, ſhould
be

be granted, and secured to a Majority of the compleat Number of each County, by Petition or Protest to Change any of their Representatives, if at *any Time after* the Acceptance of Place or Pension, their Conduct was disapproved; the same Right should continue in Force over those chosen while actually in Place, instead of the present nugatory Mode of Vacating.

As London, and other great Cities, would have an Influence at Elections, and a Representation in the House, proportioned to their numerous Inhabitants, they would have less to regret, in sharing the common Lot: As to the Business of Government being carried on, with such a Parliament, there could be little danger of Obstruction to it, if *fit* to be forwarded; their Powers and Privileges

vileges might also be without Fear of Jealousy, increased in some Instances, and curtailed where incompatible with Law; but at any Rate, well *ascertained* in all.

P. S. Should the Expediency of the above Measures be disputed, the original State of Parliaments, their present Frailty, and scandalous and indiscrete Abuse of *assumed* Privilege, has lately undergone such an *eternal Blazon* from the masterly Pen of the inimitable *Junius*, in his Letter of the Twenty-second of April, as to put it past a Doubt, and I am not a little flattered in the Hope that these Reflections, which were written some Months before the late gross Infractions of Liberty and Law, will meet his private Approbation, since the Evils he has more particularly pointed out, are
I think

I think as fully *as can be* guarded against in them, and that with as little Recession or Innovation, as so advanced a Decay would possibly admit of, for so the rapid Decline of our constitution may but too justly be called. Britain ought, however, of all Nations, least to *despair of the Republic*, for she has heretofore Phoenix, or rather Hydra-like, ever risen more formidable, from the temporary Dissolution of her Government.

With

With a View to Proving beyond the possibility of a Doubt, that the celebrated Junius was not, as asserted in the Pamphlet entitled *Free Parliaments*, an Enemy to *Equal Representation*—in Testimony of the ingenuous and unparalleled Candor of so distinguished a Writer,—and justly flattered with the Applause of one so rarely lavish of it, the Author of these Reflections, though not Vain enough to deem them worthy of such exalted Commendations, could not with Propriety omit transcribing the following * Lines, which though in the first Instance they only relate to the foregoing Tract, fully and pointedly in their Progress, allude to the Moral, the Serious, and the more Abstruse Parts of this little Volume.

That they might be intelligible, it was positively Necessary to accompany them with the Extract of Junius's Letter to John Wilkes, Esq. although the Author is reduced by it to suffer that humiliating comparison of Style which must in some Degree be every Man's Fate that has the Fortune to stand by this accurate and elegant Colossus.

THE Reverend Mr. John Horne having with his usual Veracity and honest Industry, circulated a Report that Junius, in a Letter to the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, had warmly declared himself in favour of long Parliaments and rotten Boroughs, it is thought Necessary to submit to the Public the following Extract from his Letter to John Wilkes, Esq. dated the 7th of September 1771, and laid before the Society on the 24th of the same Month.

“ WITH regard to the several Articles,
 “ taken separately, I own I am concerned
 “ to see that the great Condition, which
 “ ought to be the *sine quâ non* of parliamen-
 “ tary Qualification,—which ought to be
 “ the Basis (as it assuredly will be the
 “ only Support) of every Barrier raised in
 defence

" Defence of the Constitution, I mean a
 " *Declaration upon Oath to shorten the du-*
 " *ration of Parliaments*, is reduced to the
 " fourth Rank in the esteem of the Socie-
 " ty ; and, even in that Place, far from
 " being insisted on with Firmness and Ve-
 " hement, seems to have been particular-
 " ly slighted in the Expression.—*You shall*
 " *endeavour to restore Annual Parliaments !*
 " —Are these the Terms, which Men,
 " who are in earnest, make use of, when
 " the *salus reipublicæ* is at stake ?—I ex-
 " pected other Language from Mr.
 " Wilkes.—Whenever the Question shall
 " be seriously agitated, I will endeavour
 " (and if I live will assuredly attempt it)
 " to convince the English Nation, by ar-
 " guments to my Understanding unan-
 " swerable, that they ought to insist upon
 " a triennial, and banish the Idea of an
 " Annual Parliament.

I am

“ I am convinced that, if shortening the
 “ duration of Parliaments (which in Ef-
 “ fect is keeping the Representative under
 “ the Rod of the Constituent) be not
 “ made the Basis of our new parliamen-
 “ tary Jurisprudence, other Checks or
 “ Improvements signify nothing. On the
 “ contrary, if this be made the Founda-
 “ tion, other Measures may come in Aid,
 “ and as Auxiliaries, be of considerable
 “ Advantage. Lord Chatham’s Project,
 “ for instance, of increasing the Number
 “ of Knights of Shires, appears to me Ad-
 “ mirable. . . : . . . As to cutting
 “ away the rotten Boroughs, I am as
 “ much offended as any man at seeing
 “ many of them under the direct Influence
 “ of the Crown, or at the disposal of
 “ private Persons. Yet, I own, I have
 “ both Doubts and Apprehensions, in re-
 “ gard to the Remedy you propose. I
 shall

" be charged perhaps with an unusual
 " want of political Intrepidity, when I
 " honestly confess to you, that I am
 " startled at the Idea of so extensive an
 " Amputation.—In the first Place, I
 " question the Power, *de jure*, of the
 " Legislature to disfranchise a Number of
 " Boroughs, upon the general Ground of
 " improving the Constitution. There
 " cannot be a Doctrine more Fatal to the
 " Liberty and Property we are contending
 " for, than that, which confounds the Idea
 " of a *supreme* and an *arbitrary* Legislature.
 " I need not point out to you the fatal
 " Purposes, to which it has been, and
 " may be applied. If we are sincere
 " in the political Creed we profess. there
 " are many Things, which we ought to
 " affirm, cannot be done by King Lords
 " and Commons. Among these I reckon
 " the disfranchising of Boroughs with
 a general

" a general View of Improvement. I con-
 " sider it as equivalent to robbing the Par-
 " ties concerned of their Freehold, of their
 " Birth-right. I say that, although this
 " Birth-right may be forfeited, or the
 " Exercise of it suspended in particular
 " Cases, it cannot be taken away, by a
 " general Law, for any real or pretended
 " Purpose of improving the Constitution.
 " Supposing the Attempt made, I am per-
 " suaded you cannot mean that either
 " King, or Lords should take an active
 " Part in it. A Bill, which only touches
 " the Representation of the People, must
 " originate in the House of Commons.
 " In the Formation and Mode, of passing
 " it, the exclusive right of the Commons
 " must be asserted as scrupulously, as in
 " the Case of a Money-bill. Now, Sir,
 " I should be glad to know by what Kind
 " of Reasoning it can be proved, that there

" is a Power vested in the Representative
 " to destroy his immediate Constituent.
 " From whence could he possibly derive
 " it? A Courtier, I know, will be ready
 " to maintain the Affirmative. The Doc-
 " trine suits him exactly, because it gives an
 " unlimited Operation to the Influence of
 " the Crown. But we, Mr. Wilkes,
 " ought to hold a different Language. It
 " is no Answer to me to say, that the Bill
 " when it passes the House of Commons:
 " It is the Act of the Majority, and not
 " the Representatives of the particular
 " Boroughs concerned. If the Majority
 " can disfranchise ten Boroughs, why
 " not twenty, why not the whole King-
 " dom? Why should not they make their
 " own Seats in Parliament for Life? When
 " the Septennial Act passed, the Legisla-
 " ture did what, apparently and palpably,
 " they had no Power to do; but they
 " did

“ did more than People in general were
 “ aware of: they, in effect, disfranchised
 “ the whole Kingdom for four Years.

“ For Argument's sake, I will now
 “ suppose, that the expediency of the
 “ Measure, and the Power of Parliament
 “ are unquestionable. Still you will find
 “ an insurmountable Difficulty in the
 “ Execution. When all your Instru-
 “ ments of Amputation are prepared,
 “ when the unhappy Patient lies Bound at
 “ your Feet, without the possibility of
 “ Resistance, by what infallible Rule will
 “ you direct the Operation?—When you
 “ propose to cut away the *rotten* Parts,
 “ can you tell us what Parts are perfectly
 “ *sound*?—Are there any certain Limits, in
 “ Fact or Theory, to inform you at what
 “ Point you must stop, at what Point the
 “ Mortification ends. To a Man so ca-

“ pable of Observation and Reflection as
 “ you are, it is unnecessary to say all
 “ that might be said upon the Subject.
 “ Besides that I approve highly of Lord
 “ Chatham’s Idea of *infusing a Portion of*
 “ *new Health into the Constitution to enable*
 “ *it to bear its Infirmities,* (a brilliant Ex-
 “ pression, and full of intrinsic Wisdom)
 “ other Reasons concur in persuading me
 “ to adopt it. I have no Objec-
 “ tion, &c.

* The Man, who fairly and compleatly
 answers this Argument, shall have my
 Thanks and my Applause. My Heart is
 already with him.—I am ready to be
 converted.—I admire his Morality, and
 would gladly Subscribe to his Articles of
 Faith.—Grateful, as I am, to the GOOD
 BEING, whose Bounty has imparted to me
 this reasoning Intellect, whatever it is, I
 hold

hold myself proportionably indebted to him, from whose enlightened Understanding another Ray of Knowledge communicates to mine. But neither should I think the most exalted Faculties of the human Mind, a Gift worthy of the Divinity; nor any Assistance, in the Improvement of them, a Subject of Gratitude to my fellow Creature, if I were not satisfied, that really to inform the Understanding corrects and enlarges the Heart.

JUNIUS.

To

TO THE PRINTER
OF THE
GENERAL ADVERTISER.

Jan. 3. 1783.

S I R,

AS the Time approaches when the renewal of that great Question of Parliamentary Reform is announced to us, under a more settled and benign Ministry, and, as our auspicious Chancellor of the Exchequer has publicly bespoken the Assistance of every Light that can, during this Holiday Interval, be thown on that most interesting Object, I should deem myself wanting in Zeal for the Public Welfare, could I remain silent on so pressing an Occasion.

What

What I now give the Public, through the Channel of your Paper, because I think it that, of the most extensive Communication, (the Minister having already received it) is, with some Popular Addition, and Improvements, the *Substance* of what I published on this very important Subject in the Year 1771, and, which, though most of the Impression was soon called in, has probably given Rise to the present laudable Anxiety of the People, however its late Promulgators may have continued them ignorant of the Source from whence it originally sprung.

It would be but an impertinent Waste of Time, were I to urge the Partiality, Insignificance, or Prostitution of a very considerable Part of our constituent Body; or the miserable Effects produced by these Causes in our Commons House of Parliament,

ment, they are too obvious and glaring for any Man to overlook them. Yet I cannot help observing that the Boroughs have by no Means a compleat, invariable, original Title to constituency; I mean no Right coeval with the first institution of Parliaments, but that they have, on the contrary, received it gradually, occasionally, and with many Privations; and having by Consequence, at the several Times of such Investiture or Privation, been, *ipso facto*, themselves instrumental to some Change in the Representation; that single Argument should, to my Understanding, be sufficient, with the candid and uninterested, to answer and to silence, even if better founded, all clamorous Reasoning against that Bugbear Innovation, more adapted, when the *salus rei publicæ* is at Stake, to the Ideas of a musty Antiquarian,

rian, than worthy of a great and enlightened Nation.

That Point of Prejudice once got over, it would be, I fear, difficult to draw a Line, and to declare, with any satisfactory precision, at what sized Boroughs the corruptness ceases; perhaps dangerous to attempt it; and were it even possible, there would be still in the remaining, undefiled ones, an immense Majority of their Inhabitants unrepresented.

From these serious Difficulties, I have long since concluded, that the only fair and expedient Means to obviate all invidious and offensive Discriminations, both *now and in future*, and to procure a truly free and equal Representation, is, at once, to transfer the Power of Election *exclusively* to the Counties, by a *total* extinction of
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it in the Boroughs; and to let each County *triennially* chuse as many Members as its *Extent, Riches, Population, and Commercial Importance*, might entitle it to send Representatives to Parliament. These four Qualities, jointly considered, would, I think, involve every requisite for rating their Proportion. The *Constitution*, I roundly assert, remains unaltered, if liberally viewed in its great *Outline* of King, Lords, and Commons; and if the meer honest Right of Election be what is so contended for by the Boroughs, far from being diminished, their Powers are hereby much amplified: Since every individual Man at the Age of one and twenty, if not Insane, should henceforth be deemed competent to Elect, excepting *Household* Servants, which differ widely from Journeymen and Labourers; for they, besides being under the immediate and powerful Influence

Influence of their Masters, and, perhaps, absent from their County, are constantly and effectually provided for, and therefore little affected by Taxes.

To avoid Confusion, every Elector in each Parish should be enrolled by his Overseer or Church-warden, who should attend at Elections with his List in Order to identify his Parishioners, to whom he should deliver, as soon as declared, the Name of every Candidate for his County, that they might have Time to deliberate on their Choice, and deliver the Number in Writing if they could, signed with their Name ; nor should any Man, however extensive his Property, be permitted to Vote for more than that single County where his Name is enrolled as an Inhabitant ; very large Counties might, for convenience

ence be divided into Districts, and the Parishes Vote by settled Succession.

London and Westminster, as the Metropolis of a great Nation, and being superior in the above Requisites to most Counties, should be considered and rated by the same Rule, as such

But in conformity to the Spirit of our antient Constitution, which has for wise and obvious Ends distinguished the landed Interest, every Freeholder possessing 30l. a year, and every Lease and Copyholder in Proportion, should be registered at his County Town, and a Power vested in him to select and approve Candidates in any reasonable Number, previous to their final Election; but to reject none, without full and sufficient Cause: And a further Power granted to a Majority of
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the compleat Number of each County, I mean Landholders of the above Description to depose any of their Representatives, *not chosen while actually in Place*, if at any Time after their acceptance of Place or Pension, their Conduct was disapproved, and reduce them again to the State of simple Candidates, whom any other might oppose. It is, I think, a Measure that would be both safe, and saving to the Community; for though a Placeman might, even under such a Representation, be venal, it does not follow that he is infallibly so from the Hour of his entrance into Office.

It is in Vain to expect the total preclusion of Influence from any possible Mode of Election, the Vice is too deeply rooted, it is Inherent in the very Nature of Society, which could not without Subordination

tion long subſiſt. This Influence will be however lodged, where a Truſt of that Importance ſhould be, in the Breſt of the moſt enlightened, popular, and wealthy, and as theirs is the principal Stake, it is but candid to ſuppoſe they will not wantonly trifle with it. After all, ſhould even this fail, what better have we to truſt to?

This being intended for my Countrymen in general, I have purpoſely delivered it in the cleareſt and moſt concise Terms I could deviſe, that its fair Conſideration might require the ſlighteſt Attention of the Mind, and that it might, at one ſhort View, manifeſt itſelf to the plaineſt Underſtanding. That it may be adopted, or may at leaſt ſerve to ſuggeſt ſomething
upon

upon as liberal and broad a Basis, has
long been the zealous Wish of,

*A Friend to Freedom
and limited Monarchy.*

TO THE PRINTER
OF THE
GENERAL ADVERTISER.

Feb. 14, 1783.

S I R,

HAVING been informed that an
anonymous Author had, in a Pamphlet
intituled *Free Parliaments*, clearly put to
Silence every Advocate for *equal Repre-
sentation*, I procured it last Night, tho'
too late for the Post, you would else
have

have received this one Day earlier. I confess the first Impression it made on me, was the strange Absurdity of the *Title*, which I still wonder should have been adopted by so violent an Enemy to the Cause,

It would be inconsistent with the Declaration of my Letter to you of the 3d of January, were I to decline answering some Parts of the above Pamphlet, I might indeed say all, in consideration of the very little import of his Quotations.

This Author modestly sets out with professing to have read every Publication on this interesting Subject, and yet clearly appears not to have seen, or willfully to have overlooked, both the Letter you published, and the Tract it alludes to, and
he

he does so, I presume, for the Reasons I shall take the Liberty to point out.

As to the legal Title of the People of England to equal Representation, I never once hinted at it, whatsoever I might think of their Right in *Equity*. Nor (as this *Enemy to Dogma* roundly proclaims all the *visionary misanthropic Drones* to have asserted) did I ever positively insist on the infallibly advantageous Effects of the proposed Reform. I then, that is Twelve Years ago, firmly believed it would be generally beneficial, if the representative Body had Virtue enough to try it, I should else never have written upon the Subject ; and I am now as free to Confess, that I see no Argument in his Book that has induced me in the least to alter my Opinion. As to his Compilation of Quotations, and his Decisions relative to

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the duration of Parliaments prior to the Year 1694, they only go to prove that their original Source is nearly as difficult to trace as that of the Nile, and that probably like that, as they have varied and encreased in their Progress, so was our Constitution, to *that Period*, gradually tending to perfection. But they in no Sort imply, that a Change of Nature, if I may so term our present Habits of Corruption, might not well require at a future Period to be counteracted, and still the more, when for Four Years out of Seven, as Junius has informed him, (though he would willingly *sink* it upon us) the Constituent Powers of our People, have been totally annihilated by the representative Body.

For the Danger of admitting Copyholders to vote for Knights of the Shire ;
in

in his discussion of that Question, he certainly parades much valuable Knowledge in the Line of Stewardship, but after telling him, which he may not possibly know, that these Objects never formed the least Part of my Consideration, I must also beg to suggest the probability of his having thrown out this empty *Tub* rather as an Amusement to the Leviathan, who, it is to be hoped, will have more Wit than to be diverted by so hollow a Bate from the great Object of his Pursuit; for however low and *ignorant of the World* the *People*, that is, those who are pleased to dissent from this Gentleman's Opinions, may appear to his liberal Mind, I very sincerely trust that there are many Thousands in this Country whom he never heard of, to the very full as equal to the Act of Legislation, as nine tenths of our present worthy House of Commons: And,

for the Remainder, I fear this Paragon of Candor begs the Question rather too grossly, when he takes Leave to presume their Talents would be neglected by free Electors, and that their only Means of Entrance into Parliament must necessarily have been by Purchase, or Presentment from the present Proprietors of Boroughs. With Professions so little specious as these, this well-natured Writer, from his self-raised Eminence arrogantly affects to look down on *Misanthropes*.

For the Riot and piteous Destruction of Morals, which he so pathetically foretels in the future frequency of Elections, he might as clearly have seen, that it is by the Plan in question effectually obviated, together with the locality he so much affects to dread; for it will be surely as easy, when the Parishes are registered, to
compel

compel the Suffrage of their Inhabitants at appointed and reasonably distant Districts, as it is to collect a Jury, or an Inquest, without making either of them Drunk at your Expence. As to the specific Boroughs to be discarded, he may possibly now recollect, that all that invidious Task is totally out of the Question.

The World is much obliged to him for his elegant Quotation from the late truly respected and sincerely lamented Earl of Chatham ; had he lived till now, he might perchance, with Junius, have avowed a different, or rather a less scrupulous Opinion ; what he did say, if fairly quoted, goes but to prove, that he felt, with Conviction and painful Regret, that most abandoned state of Corruption that our once noble Constitution was unhappily arrived at ; but that he had not

Confidence enough in the Virtue of our Législature to propose such searching and effectual Applications as so advanced a Decay required, or as might be necessary to the Re-establishment of its pristine Vigour,—In short, that he rather chose to drag on a lingering valetudinarian Existence, than generously to risque its Dissolution, by a thorough probing of the diseased Parts, for the precarious Chance of a perfect Cure. To warrant that it would infallibly prove so, would be too nearly imitating this very clear-sighted Author, who would most gladly persuade us of his intimacy with Junius; for the Congeniality of their Minds, I leave the World to Judge; it is however fortunate for him, that this elegant and masterly Reasoner is, at least to *his* Purpose, absent, he would not else have dared so

so partially to quote his Letter to John Wilkes, Esq. in the Body of which Letter he is not ashamed to leave out whole Sentences, when he justly dreads their appearance against his own Prejudices. And did he really never read the Paragraph annexed to it? for which only it seems to be transcribed by the most candid Politician that ever wrote. Did he really never observe that this Argument was *fairly and compleatly answered*? Unless he can ingenuously assert so much, what must the Public, which he would thus deceive, think of his Candor? May not the Purity of his other Quotations be in some just Danger of Suspicion.

In my Opinion, the Case is plainly this; that the Eyes of the English Nation are now opened; that they at length perceive

perceive themselves to be every Hour the Dupes of Laws which they generally had no Hand in making; and that, although when conquered and enslaved, they were obliged patiently to acquiesce under such as were prescribed. Their Cause, the glorious Cause of Freedom and Justice, is now supported by many of the most independent and enlightened Personages in the Kingdom; and they will, I trust, Retort, with equal Scorn, the contemptuous Charges and iniquitous Quotations of this Declaimer, who, had he really confided in his Cause, would never have been reduced to support it by such maimed and wretched Arts. As to his finishing Piece of happy Irony, I am far from thinking, that if it were realized upon the Majority of our present Representative Body, we should be Losers by the Substitution; and I am persuaded we might safely admit his Supposition

position, without any dangerous Risque of
its Abuse.

*A Friend to Freedom
and limited Monarchy.*

THOUGHTS

THOUGHTS ON THE INSTABILITY OF EM-
PIRES, ONE OF ITS PROBABLE CAUSES
ASSIGNED, WITH A PLAN OF PREVEN-
TION, APPLICABLE IN A GREAT DEGREE
TO OUR DISSIPATED STATE.

WHEN I read the astonishing Cata-
logue of ruined Empires that History
presents us with, and when I find myself
obliged to accompany it through an in-
variable Course of endless Centuries, with
the melancholy Reflection, that each, from
the earliest existence of human Records,
is but successively tending to its Dissolu-
tion, with the sole Exception of the Chinese
Empire: And when I further remark,
that these alarming Events have mostly
taken Place at the respective Periods of
their greatest Power and Splendor. A
Subject of Britain is, at a similar Crisis,
naturally

naturally led to enquire into the Cause of this Fatality ; for it may not be altogether visionary, to conclude, from the general uniformity of Affluence that has preceded these dreadful Revolutions, that there might have been some parity of Circumstances in the Agency that has immediately occasioned them : Any of which, if discoverable, it would surely be prudent to guard against.

To ascribe them solely to the Defects of our Nature, and to the consequent frailty of every human Establishment, would be, I fear, both an idle Conclusion, and a rash Arraignment of Providence, who being herself perfectly and permanently steady in her own stupendous Operations, has, if we may judge by Analogy, probably endowed us, at least, when collectively viewed, with a Portion of Reason, abundantly sufficient

to

to the Government not only of ourselves, but of our Passions, although as Individuals, they but too often prove an over-match for us ; this single Consideration as obviously as strongly militates against every Argument that can be brought in defence of *hereditary Despotism* ; for even allowing that the Person vested with it, may be at the same Time gifted with every requisite for asserting and maintaing the Glory and happiness of his Subjects, which has, I readily admit, in the long and wide extended Course of human Existence, often been the Case. Yet, as it is more than possible that this earthly Paragon will be succeeded by a mere Mortal of the common cast of Individuals, the very precarious, I might say, contingent prosperity of Subjects under such a Government is but too evident.

The

The Empire of China, from the Time of their great Lawgiver Confucius, and even since its conquest by the Tartars, is an instance rather in favour than against this Doctrine; for the firmly interwoven Principles of their Education, their Religion, and their Government, have, by an inveterate Habit, which has nearly changed their Natures, been for these two thousand Years, so scrupulously inculcated, and so invariably observed, by the Inhabitants of this vast Country, even from the revered Throne of its respected Monarch, down to the lowest of its most distinctly subordinate Ranks, as to leave little Room for the capricious operation of the Will: And to reduce them by a precise and systematic Regularity, in whatever relates to the great Machine of Government, to the general outline of Morals, to something like that instinctive

unerring

unerring State of Knowledge and of Action, which we observe with such Astonishment, in many of the associated Divisions of what we reasoning Animals imperiously term the Brute Creation; happy! if our more brutal Treatment of them were not too much influenced by this arrogant and supercilious Appellation.

Aristocratic Governments, were they not marked with those odious and impassable Distinctions of the *governing* and the *governed*, if we may judge by that of Venice, bid fairer for Permanency : Yet the long protracted Existence of even this famous Republic, has perhaps much depended on certain wise Regulations respecting the occasional Partition of such overgrown Estates, as might happen to center in any single Nobleman, and which would otherwise

otherwise have involved the too powerful Influence of some of their very extensive, but in general, poor Nobility; and on their strict observance of the incomparable *nosce te ipsum*, by which consummate Maxim, all their Councils have for these last two hundred Years, most prudently and fortunately been actuated, and which they interpret, as I presume, to imply a much more difficult and extensive Knowledge, than is commonly annexed to its Idea: for, to be fully acquainted with our own *relative Value*, what is it but a thorough pre-investigation of all that does, or has surrounded us? It is by this alone that they are ever cautiously guarded, and prepared to check themselves in the pursuit of any ill-timed or disproportioned Enterprize. they would else probably e'er now have been, like most of their Neighbours,

bours, a conquered and dependent Province.

It is I think, almost superfluous to cast a Thought away upon Democracy, for if I am not grossly mistaken in my Ideas of the human Heart, every Government of that Kind, must of Necessity be, after a very short Duration, converted into one of the foregoing Forms, and must probably soon end in Monarchy.

The above Name, though universally received, is, I think, (almost from the Time of our first Charles's fifth Parliament, but clearly from that of the *justly termed* glorious Revolution) most improperly applied to the mixsd Government of England; for when rightly counterpoised in the true Spirit of its Intent, tho' neither of the three Estates wou'd much preponderate

preponderate, yet from the very distinct and unequivocal Powers that each Division is invested with, they would not only have a mutual Dependence, but they would be each enabled reciprocally to check even the Prospect of the other's Encroachment. How far a Limitation of the Number of our Peers, and by that Means enhancing the Estimation of Peerage without encreasing its Powers or *Influence*, might be a valuable Precaution towards the Security of this noble Fabric, is submitted to the Decision of its only proper Judge, the *Legislature at large*, with a retrospect, however, to that inauspicious *Dozen* that were at once created by our last female Sovereign.—But, by whatsoever Name our most enviable and glorious Constitution is celebrated, it is clearly the only fit one for enlightened Beings, such as the invaluable Art of Printing, and

the unlimited Freedom of the Press, must in a few Centuries, from the first Period of its Invention, necessarily be productive of; for where the Candidates for Science are multiplied in the Hundred-fold, the Production of else hidden and neglected Genius, cannot but follow in a like Proportion.

Let us not however, from that parity of rational Intellect which ever bountiful and impartial Providence unremittingly continues, like the great Sun her glorious Agent, equally to dispense to every Rank and Order of the human Species, and who may justly plead an equal Title to its Improvement; let us not, I say, from this, argue the Necessity of a Similitude and an Equality in our Pursuits and Habits; Society, that at least of civilized Nations, which but for Subordination, could

could not subsist, must be of Force, composed of different Members, the Tradesman, the Artificer, the Household Servant, those who cultivate our Soil, and others without Number, not to mention the superior Ranks, to which happily in our mild and well-constituted Government, where Merit is the principal Qualification, all may aspire.

Now as it appears from our first Remark, clearly founded on the sad Experience of Ages, that the brilliant Zenith of Power, and the contagious Overflow of Wealth and Splendor, too intimately connected with the *corruption of Morals*, has ever been the invariable Forerunner of an equally rapid and destructive Ebb, are we not in View of that important Discovery we were searching for? *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*; and may we
not

not fairly ascribe those tremendous Shocks, by which the boasted Glories of the most envied Nations, have, at this ill-omened Period, been so often irrevocably dispersed and blasted ? to that Vanity and wanton depravity of Mind, that they were, manifestly from their Affluence, first infected with, to the obvious and endless Mischiefs that they are pregnant with ; and, to the unpardonable Neglect of Legislature, that on the rise Appearance of these alarming Symptoms, did not, by the censorial salutary Institution of sumptuary Edicts, at once stop their Communication, and prevent their fatal Effects.

These Questions, unless I am deceived, carry their Answer with them ; and the truly pitiable State of our own corrupt Habits, with the consequent Depravity of our Morals, render the same Preventatives

ratives but too justly applicable; nor can the most unrelenting enforcement of our penal Laws, tho' it should thin us, even to a degree of Devastation, ever be *alone* sufficient to extirpate this rankly rooted Evil, until we strictly and unequivocally discriminate the now shamefully *blended and confus'd* Divisions of our People.

Thus far I am, for my own Share, fully convinced; but, whether the establishing sumptuary Laws of *such extent* as might affect those of really opulent and independent Fortunes, would, were they easily and clearly practicable, be in this Country, upon the whole, a beneficial Measure, is well worthy of Consideration! In the Venetian Republic, where the ostensible equality of their untitled Nobles, was the only Object; to them only, and to their Wives, have *such* Laws related: but in

a Constitution like ours, where the Accumulation of immense Property in its Individual, is not, as at Venice, subject to the dictatorial Controul of State Inquisitors tho' it be equally the Source of dangerous Influence; should we not rather leave the Wealthy in quiet and entire possession of those dissipated Habits almost inseparable from Riches and Prosperity? Which, by the continual alienation of Property that must attend them, not only serve to check the growing Power of the Aristocratic Body, but at the same time wisely encourage the industrious Tradesman, who by this only Prospect of realizing his well earned Thrift, may in his turn one Day be enabled to purchase the legal Title of personally assisting in the noble Act of Legislation.

The indispensable necessity of sumptuary
Laws

Laws for the *lower Orders of our People*, at this alarming Period, when neither Imprisonment, hard Labour, Shackles, or even Death, are of the least Availment, cannot, I think, be urged with more convincing Force, than by this sole Consideration, that they must, from the very Hour of their Establishment, effectually extinguish the vain Ambition of promiscuous Intercourse; for, when the Badge and Livery of each Division is indeviably fixed, under moderate but sufficient Penalties, they must of necessary consequence cease to be lured by those flattering Hopes of being mistaken for their Superiors; from that wretched Resemblance of their present Dress and manner, which now too often tempts the very lowest of our People, however short the Prospect of their Reign, or assured their Ruin, not only to neglect their Functions, and to squander its honest Produce,

Produce ; but like the bloated Reptile in the Fable, rather than abandon their ill-proportioned Enterprize, to persevere by every atrocious and desperate Resource, even to their Destruction.

If the cultivated Minds implied in the Education of the Wealthy, are not in general sufficient to deter them from the trifling Levities of Fashion and Foppery, let them, and welcome, fully retain the exclusive Privilege of that wretched Pre-eminence : *Their Ruin*, however near, involves not that of the Community ; and the above Laws compleatly bar against the pernicious Effects of their Example. For the Manner of their Application, it is happily and obviously suggested, by the Army, the Navy, and the Clergy : advertising in the present Instance, chiefly to Economy and distinctness for the general

Outline

Outline of the Divisions : But in the particular Detail, the characteristic Symbol of each Profession, should be our Guide; which in many is decided by the Apron; but the Cut of untied Hair, which forty Years ago was universal with *Mechanics*, and which the Clergy have never varied, should above all, for many Reasons, be strictly re-established. An Omission of Conformity to the respective Uniforms lawfully appointed, would imply the Intention of Disguise, and often be the Means of Detection, while their real Uniform would as often facilitate Discovery in Cases of actual Trespas.

Should these Institutions be the Cause of Discontent, though I cannot see the hardship of being compelled, in common with the three most respectable Bodies in the Kingdom, to wear the Badge of their Profession;

Profession; yet, if the lasting Prosperity of their Country be really the first Object of their Wish, let them to merit and secure the Blessing of so glorious a Constitution, freely offer up the tributary Sacrifice of a *little Vanity*; and trust me, the bewitching Force of Habit, will before a Twelvemonth's Course, make this Change as familiar to every Rank, as the round Jacket to our Watermen, the most useful and inoffensive Body in the Nation; while the Advantages it will have produced, will be as lasting as they are general, essential, and great.

Innovations, extensive as these, for such I candidly allow them; however beneficial their Institution, cannot be looked for, nor will be quietly received, but from a *Free and Equal Representation* founded on the broad and liberal Basis proposed in the foregoing

foregoing Letter ; by which every Interest, whether Landed, Professional, or Commercial, may have equal Expectations, when Integrity and Talents, will probably constitute the chief Objects of Election ; the uninfluenced Decrees of such a Parliament, cannot fail of making every Regulation palatable, however uncouth an Aspect its first Appearance may present to the Eye of Prejudice, because it will truly echo the respected Sentiments of the *whole People*, by whom they are voluntarily, and without Reserve, entrusted freely to deliver them ; nor can there exist any beneficial Undertaking, of whatsoever Magnitude, but what the Grasp of such a Representation so elected, and by Consequence supported, is fully equal to ; even that worse than Curtian Chasm, so horribly extended to our Ruin, waits but the closing of this powerful Hand ; and I am
beyond

beyond a Doubt convinced, enormous as our Debt certainly is, it may with little Injury or Discontent, by the patriotic Concurrence and generous Exertion of all the Parties, shortly and honourably be adjusted; the Alternative (let us not deceive ourselves) is but the irresolute and ruinous Protraction of a REAL IMPENDING INEVITABLE EVIL; which by timely Resolution, and generous Efforts, may be so palliated, as scarcely to merit so harsh an Appellation.

Without it, can we as a *trading Nation*, long exist? Can our Manufacturers, under the necessary Oppression of such a Load of Taxes as barely suffice to the Interest of our Debt, can they, I say, pursue their respective Occupations, on any Terms that will make their Produce current; and as heretofore, anxiously coveted in foreign Markets?

Markets? The Answer, to whatsoever Commodity it may relate, is uniform; think on the free and newly opened Ports of our American Bretheren; reflect, but not with Discontent, on the Advantages of our Sister Kingdom, and, if we are Men, really worthy of our ancient Reputation, let us by generously adopting, and steadily pursuing the only Measure we have, effectually qualify ourselves to be availed of, our acknowledged Industry, to recover our long lost Estimation, and once again establish, in every Quarter of the Globe that valuable Preference that was formerly the inseparable attendant on our universal Trade.

It would be a Breach of Consistency, were I to quit the Subject of Morals and of Commerce, without directing a few defensive Lines to that implacable Enemy
of

of both, *Imprisonment for Debt*; to urge its inevitable Destruction of our Morals, would be but an impertinent waste of Time, since its Effects are obvious to the most common Understanding, if it, but for a Moment, figures to itself an unconnected Aggregate of desperate Men, totally devoid of Subordination, with no Object of Interest but the Tap; and for those it has on Commerce, I can never doubt but that the foolish Dependence on this baneful Resource, has betrayed many an industrious Tradesman into a Credit that he has afterwards severely repented, while it has conducted numberless of the extravagant and inconsiderate to their Ruin, who but for this, had never been trusted to so pernicious an Extent.

The real eventual Fact (which, however short, is the *full History of Imprisonment* for

for Debt, and precisely the reverse of Justice,) is clearly this: The *Insolvent* (who unless accidentally become so since the contracting of their Debt, are the *only Guilty*) after a Year or two of compelled Initiation and Perseverance in the most abandoned Idleness and Dissipation, when consummate Masters in these Habits, are usually by, *Acts of Grace*, permitted to leave these hopeful Seminaries, discharged in full from every future Pretension of their Creditor, while *those possessed of Property*, which should have alone been answerable, and might have really *served* the Creditor, are by their Confinement often obliged to sell great Share of it for their Subsistence, being deprived of any from their neglected Lands or Professions, and are justly unwilling to part with the Remainder, and by that Means *doubly satisfy* a hungry revengeful Tyrant, who had
already

already feasted for Years upon their Liberty and their irrevocable Ruin. Can there Exist a more absurd Contradiction (however generous the Decree, and noble the Nation that avows it) than for our Laws to emancipate a Negro fairly purchased, under the Sanction of customary Practice, on the Coast of Africa; I say, to declare him Free from the very Hour he sets Foot upon this Land of Liberty; and yet permit its *Natives* (the very Person perhaps who is the only Sufferer by this Law, and whose Loss of it *might* even be placed to that identical Account,) to forfeit that Liberty without any colourable Act of Violence, but by a *merely implied Sale* of it.

Every Punishment should in Reason and in Justice bear some proportionate Analogy to the Offence; *Property* should be
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by Consequence alone answerable for Property, when neither violently or fraudulently obtained; for in either Case, condign Punishment is Equity. But, the privation of Freedom, without even the alledged Suspicion of a felonious Act, is independent of the Mischief it is pregnant with, wantonly confounding every Idea of Justice; and to a similar Practice, the great Roman Republic had more than once nearly owed its overthrow.—I am yet a zealous Advocate for Retribution; where there is Property, let it be, by due Forms of Law, fairly and deliberately sold, not committed, as at present by the *under Sheriffs*, to the Management and Mercy of the most ignorant and infamous of the human Species, the *Bailiffs*, while the helpless unhappy Victim, although deprived of his all, (which is often disposed of for one tenth of its Value) is

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continued

continued in Confinement at another's Suit. Where the Income is unalienable, or cannot with Propriety be sold, either from its Circumstances or its Disproportion to the Debt, let a sufficiency for Subsistence be allotted to the Debtor, adapted to his Condition, and to the Extent of his Family; with the rest, it is just his Debts be paid. The honest Trader, then, knowing his Dependance, acts at his Peril. The *Insolvent*, neither a Bankrupt in Morals, nor *cleared* by an iniquitous *Act*, may one Day recover, and fairly discharge his Debt, for which any future Acquisition is still answerable; and for the Creditor, he could have nothing to regret in the Abolition of a disgraceful Practice, except the Power of indulging a brutish Nature, by the Persecution of one who has *probably* been once his Benefactor.

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To give this too fertile Subject a finished Blazon, would require little Ingenuity or Trouble, but, to candid and enlightened Minds, a bare Statement of the Proposition will, I trust, be deemed sufficient, and is more consistent with the Tract I had proposed,

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CURSQRY

CURSORY REMARKS ON INFANCY AND
EDUCATION.

AFTER Rousseau's most elaborate Treatise on Education, and in the Face of such very respectable names as Locke and Milton, a few merely summary Observations on so important a Subject, can be excused on no Principle but this, that too much cannot be said upon it, and that even Repetition may in this Instance serve to awaken our Attention, which is clearly no indifferent Point gained; for I have long been convinced that most People who think at all, and without Prejudice, think nearly alike, and think generally right.

In conformity to this Maxim, I am fully of Opinion with Rousseau, that Education cannot begin too early, if properly

perly adapted to the Age of the Pupil ; and in Infants to their Constitution ; for many are so infirm 'till two Year old, that the smallest Inattention to their Cries is often of real Injury to them ; while the very screaming of others, may, perhaps, if they are sound and robust, be a beneficial Exercise ; we should nevertheless endeavour to find out its Cause, without pleading, as is too often done, the idle Apprehension of cultivating ill Habits ; which is but a lame Defence of the most unfeeling and dangerous Neglect ; for the very Recollection of Habits contracted at that early Period (when their Inclinations are so compleatly under our Direction) may with little Contrivance be gradually warped to others of a more laudable Kind, both by prudently availing ourselves of the shortness of their Memory, and of the prevalence of their little Passions,

Engines, which if dexterously managed, put them entirely at our Mercy.

The Antients, and particularly the Spartans (*who were famed for the Management of their Children*) were fond of dipping them in cold water; and, I make no Doubt but that (independent of other great Advantages) if they are free from any dangerous Complaints, the daily Practice of it, from three Months old, is both for their Nurse and themselves, the most healthy and compendious Way of washing them. They should begin to Crawl as early as possible; it strengthens both their Arms and their Chest; it is the only Means of doing it for some Years; and indeed Providence seems to bespeak it, by so long a Protraction of their Ability to Walk: All Ligatures, and too much covering either by Day or Night, should
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be carefully avoided: By our Habits of over-warmth in *Bed*, all, I fear, who can afford it, are but too apt to *counteract* their most studious Endeavours towards the endurance of Cold by Day: We should otherwise be far hardier than we in general are. Our too late Discovery of this Error, may be at least beneficial to the Race to come. It is needless I hope to remark, that the Habits of bearing Cold in Bed, should be first contracted in temperate Weather; and, that in case of Illness, the first thing is to get well at any Rate; the next, to return gradually to beneficial Habits.

Aptitudes towards the Faculty of Memory, may be cultivated very early in Life, and by the means of little colateral *Land-marks* suggested to Children, (particularly such as interest them) may be not
only

only much assisted, but at the same Time, will be necessarily accompanied with Habits of Observation; they are naturally curious, and, by Consequence inquisitive; our Answers to them should be simple and clear, but true, and by little at a Time, they else question merely to *prattle*.

Much depends upon the choice of their Play-things, Whips, for instance, make them Tyrants; Marbles are attended with but little Exercise, and help to cultivate Habits of gambling; Whistles, besides their obvious Inconvenience, and their offence to the Lungs, engross too much of their Attention to an unprofitable Object, they think they have discovered a new Faculty in themselves, in which they are fully equal to their *Superiors*; for such they should be taught to believe every
one

one at Man's Estate ; and (as the Spartans wisely observed) except when drunk, should never see him but in a Light of Respect. I agree with Rousseau, the *Loi des plus forts*, should be strictly observed, but, with a Power of Appeal, in which the Outrage should be clearly stated, and shortly and fairly argued ; they would by that means soon contract Ideas of Justice, and be experimentally taught not to over-rate their own Importance.

Their Amusements should always tend to some destined Period, the keeping that Period in View, will teach them Steadiness and Perseverance: *As it is*, they usually leave all Things unfinished, and wish for nothing but Novelty ; a dangerous Habit if not checked in Time. Their Drels cannot be too plain, and if they *hanker* after one more ornamented, it will be easy

to deter them from that, or indeed any other vain Pursuit, by pointing it out in some one of their own Age, that happens on any Account to be odious or despicable in their Eyes. Pride is perhaps the first Passion that enters their Minds, and if properly directed the most useful

I suppose him now five or six Year old, and I take for granted, that from his Curiosity *properly managed*, and at his own Request, you have taught him to read fluently, and to write a little. The dead Languages if he is a Son of Opulence, are we presume to be learned, both for his own future Entertainment, and with a View to speaking his native Language with Propriety and Confidence; here it may not be amiss to recollect how old Montaigne learned *them*, it was simply as each Man learns his own, that is, by Rote, and

and of Consequence, easily and fluently; our young Ladies of Fashion I believe learn French in the same Manner; but, as it will be difficult to find a Preceptor that will speak elegant *Idiom* in Latin, though hundreds may be found to talk intelligibly and sufficiently for Explanation; after two Years, that is, about eight Year old, he may begin the easier Classics, and consult his Grammar; his Dictionary he will seldom want, his Preceptor when he does, will generally supply its Place; and if he has either Wit or Candour, will not be ashamed to point out the Inaccuracies and false *Idiom* he had been himself guilty of, during their two Years occasional Discourse in a dead Language. Why this Method is not practised at Eaton, Westminster, and other Schools, is astonishing. It is by talking *Nonsense* at first, that every Language is learned. If every Request
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of the Scholar, either in English, or whatsoever Attempts to Latin, was by the Master or Ushers immediately put into *intelligible Latin*, and he made once or twice to repeat it, he would every Day learn *something at least*; were it but a Sentence in a Week, it is, I fear, more than in the present barbarous Method, many do in seven tedious Years. Why should not Boys, under small Penalties, talk the *best Latin they can* during School Hours to each other? An Excuse for any moderate Offence pleaded in Latin should be valid; a bigger Boy, or an Usher, might suggest it, if they did but repeat it from Memory, without torturing their poor Brains with Grammar or Dictionary at an Age when either are of little Use, if we really mean to Teach, not to *Puzzle* them. Were it once *well introduced*, the Habit of speaking decent Latin

Latin would soon be as general as it is in some Parts of Poland; nor need the Masters be ashamed of exposing their *apparent Ignorance*; I was once Witness to a very sensible Frenchman's incapacity to utter an intelligible Sentence in English, who had yet a tolerable Pronunciation, and had evidently read and well understood many of our best Authors; I have known the same both in Spanish and Italian; so different a Matter is the Understanding even a living Language, and the speaking it

I have in every thing the highest Respect for Mr. Locke, yet I cannot help being tempted to differ from him on the Article of going wet-shod: Where accident renders it necessary, it is certainly fortunate to be able to bear it, but I would not, as he does (if I remember right) solicit such
a Situation.

a Situation. I am rather of Opinion with Marshal Saxe that the Feet in that Case perish, or at least suffer in a Degree with the Shoes and Stockings. As to Children dabbling in Puddles, I am by no Means averse to it; to that End, let them draw off both Shoes and Stockings; and I would even recommend that they should every Day, for at least an Hour or two, play about bare-foot in wet or dry. Rousseau is of the same Opinion; they would be then qualified to wash their Feet every Night, and harden them in cold Water. It is the Practice among the poorer Sort of both northern and southern Nations, and many Ways contributes in the most enviable Degree to their alertness by Night. I have besides observed great Use made of the Feet by the Italian Sailors, in the management of the Ropes aloft; they seem in that Instance, to avail themselves

themselves of a second Pair of Hands, and to demonstrate by visible Proofs, that our Toes were not (as we seem to apprehend) given us by Providence merely as an Inconvenience, and to be bound up from Sight and Use. I might here likewise remark the Absurdity of using one Arm, in constant preference to the other, by which the whole left Side is rendered feeble, awkward, and often rheumatic: He who uses both *equally* is *at least twice the Man.*

Another thing the Moderns strangely neglect, I mean Bathing and Swimming, which for their Wholesomeness, Cleanliness, Utility, and personal Safety, should by every Rank in Life be indispensibly learned at a very early Period, and their constant Practice unremittingly observed, however cold the Season, if we would be enabled
effectually

effectually to resist the Rigours of frosty Air. The public Baths of the Romans were innumerable, and they were so no Doubt, because so sensible a People were fully convinced of their salutary Effects.

Nothing braces so much, or is more conducive to Health, and to the future important Concerns of Life, as *continued* Exercise. Two Precautions, however, are indispensibly Necessary in its Pursuits if Violent; the one, a very gradual and imperceptibly increased training to the first Habits of it; and if long omitted, the same Caution on its Resumption: Without this, Fevers and other Disorders are often occasioned by the sudden Combustion it creates in the Blood.—The other is, never, after exercising to a Degree of Lassitude, to indulge in a *full Meal*; for, the digestive Faculties being proportionally exhausted

exhausted with the rest of the Body, must of Necessity be rendered incompetent to the Act of pure Digestion; the ill Consequences are obvious.

A Thousand light entertaining Books, will, with a *little Contrivance* while young, bewitch their Fancy into the Love of Reading, altho' the Bible and the Psalms of David, too often prove but unsuccessful Allurements in their early Days.

Though in this *Age of Fashion* it is generally deemed *bourgeois* to do any Thing with Application or Attention, I would yet cultivate as early as possible the Habits of deliberately planning and attentively performing to the utmost of their Ability, even the most ordinary Actions; for, independent of the Benefit that their Judgment will insensibly receive

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from this Practice, they will involuntarily contract a certain Ease and Elegance in the most Difficult ; I am besides convinced that a Mind truly and invariably affected with the Harmony of *Mechanical Order and Propriety*, can (*by the clearest Parity of Reasoning*) scarcely fail to be (purely for its own intrinsic Merits) a Votary to Virtue, and that, if habitual Feelings of this Kind do not actually add Strength to the most Stoical Principles, they will at least facilitate, and even give a Tincture of Pleasure to the Performance of their most rigid Dictates.

If a Boy has much Vivacity, and by his Application and Attention to Study, gives at the same Time a flattering Promise of Talents, there can be no Doubt (whatever be his Birth) but that a public

Education

Education is likely soonest to produce them to Advantage, from the illustrious Connections that it will so early enable him to form. We should be however, first well assured of our Fact, and resolve before we begin, to pursue our Views with the utmost Liberality ; but there is even here a dangerous Inconvenience ; for, though without these liberal Supplies, he will, if only a Commoner, be totally neglected, or reduced to associate with Nobility on the wretched Terms of Dependence, or the still baser Views of Gain : With them, he is sure of being prematurely initiated into many Vices, particularly those of gaming and drinking ; add to this, that if a Nobleman, and Opulent, he will infallibly associate to himself an inseparable Satellite, who, though he may possibly turn out deserving, will certainly be chosen at an

Age when the one is not competent to distinguish, nor the Turn and Character of the other, of Maturity sufficient to be determined ; yet will this Friend or Favourite probably influence every future Action of his Life.

If a Parent has Leisure and Disposition, and is qualified and equal to the Task ; or if he can afford it, and will make Choice of a Preceptor ; that is, and retain him for about eight Years ; a private Education is *in general* certainly the most eligible ; though Men are so unjust as to conclude the contrary, from the decided Majority of those publicly educated, who have proved Ornaments to their Country ; without reflecting that, the odds on their Side, in Point of Candidates, was at least in Proportion of fifty to one.

In

In the Course of a private Education, no decent Opportunity should be omitted of introducing the Pupil into the most exemplary Company, previously pointing out to him those who are most worthy of Imitation and Notice; and on his return Home, enquiring into the Observations he has made, and making such Comments on them yourself, as are proportioned to his Age and Degree of Information. This Obtrusion of him at so early a Period, will be often overlooked, if his Disposition has been properly conducted; for his good Sense and Modesty will, in that Case, direct him to be for some Years an attentive Observer, merely and scrupulously, unless first addressed, and he will by that Means, not only be doubly benefited, but he will run little Risque of being a Charges. This

Practice

Practice was much in Use among the Spartans.

As to Travelling, if we would copy some of the most distinguished among the Antients, and follow the manifest Dictates of Reason, it should, I think, be undertaken upon a very liberal Scale; and by no Means 'till he is somewhat acquainted with his own Country; and of an Age both to *Conduct himself* with Propriety, and to avail himself of the Observations he will be enabled to make in the Course of four Years Absence. The first, will be compleatly employed in barely understanding the Languages, without which, he might to the full as well have staid at Home; for it is obviously, the only Means of being in any Sort acquainted with the People; he must learn them by actually living with Foreigners.

reigners, and not as we too often do, associating only with his Countrymen. It is nevertheless *here* that he should make Choice of his future Connections in Life, from among the Numbers of English of every Rank that he will necessarily meet in the Course of his continuation on the Continent, and which on his return to England, he may prudently cement; for at the Age of four or five and twenty, I should suppose his Judgment nearly as sound as it ever will be; although his Mind, better furnished at a more advanced Period, with Objects of Comparison, by the endless Accession of Experience, may perhaps from Analogy, sometimes be enabled to draw more plausible Conclusions; or, as in Effect, few possible Cases will be then new to him, and he may profit even by the Error

of

of former Opinions. *Such only is the Benefit of Age.*

Much of his Leisure has (I take for granted) before he quitted England, been employed in reading *at least good Translations* of Herodotus Thucidides, Xenophon, Plutarch, and the Roman History: for mere Matter of Fact, it is not positively necessary that he should read the Originals *through*, tho' he will be often *well paid* in consulting them for particular Passages: and before his Return, he will probably have gone through Guiciardin, Machiavel, and Davila: The French and English Histories will now be far more interesting to him; and the last four Years, will, upon the whole have given him that *relative Knowledge of himself*, that will fully entitle him to engage in whatever he may *judge proper* to undertake: As he will by
this

this Time probably have discovered, that he is neither qualified from his Talents, nor adapted by his Disposition, to succeed in every Line of Life, tho' perhaps calculated to shine in many, if properly chosen.

I rather wish him to be an Admirer of the Charms of Music in others, than that he should possess any Excellence as a Performer himself; the Time consumed in its attainment, would suffice to the Cultivation of almost any two useful Sciences, not to mention many other Inconveniencies necessarily attendant on its Pursuit.

Bodily Prowess and Address in the different athletic Sciences, have suffered much in their estimation since the Introduction of Fire-arms, I would yet wish
our

our young Pupil to adopt their Practice (*without partiality in the Use of his Hands*) as Part of his daily Exercise; for besides the manly Form, and elegant Carriage that his Body will involuntarily contract by it, I am persuaded that their Knowledge, in every Branch, cannot but add a Confidence to natural Courage; and may possibly be some time of Service, in repelling the Attacks of Ruffians. Horsemanship is likewise a gentlemanly and useful Qualification, and, though I would not wish him to pass his Life altogether in the Fields, yet he would I think do well to spend many Hours (*with his Gun, if permitted*) in those of the Countries he visits: That he may not only judge of *their Face* in particular, but, that he may habituate his Sight to the quick Decision of advantageous Posts, and other Localities, that with Relation to *Defiles*, Mountains, Val-
lies,

lies, and Rivers, often bear some Analogy, though in different Countries, and may well be of Service to him, in future, should he be ever inclined or obliged to take the Field. An intimate Knowledge of Natural History and of Mechanics, was often of the most essential Service to the Immortal Julius Cæsar, the greatest Leader, and most accomplished Gentleman among the Antients : And to early Pursuits of this kind, a modern Hero has lately been much indebted, as they have enabled him to reflect the truest Glory upon his Country, by the four Years successful Defence of a barren Rock, in a sultry Climate, against the united and unremitting Efforts of the House of Bourbon ; more if possible, than even his consummate Merit and Experience as a General, or his wise and exemplary Regularity, Discipline, and Abstinence as a Philosopher.

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Let me conclude this Sketch with saying, that unless you build the Hope of his future Fortune *on the indiscriminate Defence of Right and Wrong*, you should above all Things inculcate even from his Infancy, the most incorruptible Attachment to HABITS OF INGENUOUSNESS; you will be then infallably sure of Success in every Endeavour, not with Rousseau, cunningly to trick your Pupil, but by convictive Argument to persuade him, fairly and openly like Socrates, into the most ardent pursuit of Rectitude, and the steady Practice of Virtue.

CONSIDERATIONS

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DESTRUCTIVE
APPLICATION OF GOLD.

BY what we can collect from the Testimony of antient Authors, there is the strongest Reason to believe that Gold was at least as plenty in those early Times, as it appears to be in our own Days; were the same asserted of Lead, Copper, Iron, or any other Metals, so many Ways liable to waste, it would be less surprizing; but that one, neither subject to the destructive effects of Rust, nor diminishable by even repeated Fusion, and whose universally acknowledged Value, might be alone supposed to preserve it, should not in so many Centuries have accumulated in Proportion

tion to the Quantity annually found in different Parts of the World, is, I think, a Matter well worth inquiring into.

The antient Practice (though it at first Sight seems to announce Extravagance) of plating, and even forming, entirely of Gold, whatever they intended should appear such, proves on a nearer View, as much their Wisdom and Œconomy, as it shews real Grandeur, such as cannot be commodiously aped by every Pretender to it; and I am persuaded that it is solely to the modern Custom of beating it to its utmost Degree of Dilatation, in order to the gilding Wood, Paper, Stucco, and other Perishable Materials (from which scarcely any one, I believe, when worn out, ever thought of extracting it) that we
must

must attribute its present relative Scarcity.

It would be a curious Inquiry, how much of this precious Metal is (in England, France, Italy, and other Countries equally fond of outward Show,) annually thus hammered to its Destruction. I suspect that it would even in this Kingdom amount to a Quantity, worthy the Interposition of the Legislature, and the more so, as it must, necessarily (as the Existence of Luxury) renew the antient substantial Method of applying it, which would be no other than laying up Treasures, that might in Times of real Need, be reckoned on as Bullion; its Ductility also is such, as seems to bespeak the using of it in Plates, since it is the only valuable Metal, capable of receiving, even when
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of a considerable Thickness, the more elegant, and finished Moulding.

This naturally calls up, (though I believe it has already been judiciously censured by a most eminent Philosopher and Historian) that very impolitic Tax upon Plate: How much more beneficial had it been, if instead of annexing a Penalty to the Use of it in gross, we could (like our Neighbours of France, and Italy, whose Populace are in other Respects incomparably poorer) encourage our Peasants to the procuring each at least, a few Forks and Spoons; as such a Provision would be in Times of private Want, a sure Resource; so in those of public Calamity, what a Fund might not be suddenly raised from it, with such Security of advantageous Restitution, as would make it to be given up,
even

even with Pleasure. The Time may come, when it would be a Happiness for this Nation, if the Scores of Millions that a little Paper is now answerable for, could be one hundredth Part so much depended on.

Silver is so plenty at Paris, that I can affirm the never having dealt at an Eating-house, though in different Quarters of the City, who could not, if required, serve me in Plate; the same may with Truth be said of the Coffee-houses, even in the Provinces. In Italy, the better Sort of Peasants, (besides Forks and Spoons, which are common to all) have large Bodkins, of an Ounce or two Weight, on which the Women's braided Hair is rolled, as in the antient Busts, and often large Gold Chains, of two Yards long, going round the Neck and Waist.

In this Country, I fear the Wedding Ring (which I am told is often applied to by the Poor, and redeemed on the Saturday) is the only Dependence in case of Sickneſs, continued Froſts, and other occaſional Cauſes of Diſtreſs ; and yet how much more eaſy would it be to the Peaſants of England, had but Cuſtom given a Sanction to the Practice, for every Couple to purchaſe on their Marriage, a few plain, maſſive, uſeful Convertibles, which Habit would ſoon render equally ſacred with the Ring, and a Deposit, never to be applied to, but in Times of real Neceſſity, and with a ſteady View to the replacing it. Uſe would ſoon annex ſuch a Degree of Shame, to a wanton Diſpoſal of this little Treaſure, that the Week's Earnings, which are now too often ſpent in Drunk-

Drunkenness and Riot, would (as at first for its Purchase) be then laid up to redeem it, when a prudent Pledge of it, might possibly have saved an industrious poor Family from Despair and Ruin.

UPON an impartial inquiry into the Causes of the poor Situation of almost every Mass of Working persons elsewhere; and of the continual Vagations and Diffusions in such as have laboured for any considerable length of Time, I find myself reduced to conclude in the general City, that the Cause is in the human Heart not however in that Degree of Malice, to which it is usually ascribed; the Motives; they are mostly **AN** I • P • I • to the effect

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Review
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E N D E A V O U R
TO PROVE THAT
R E A S O N
IS ALONE
S U F F I C I E N T
TO THE
FIRM ESTABLISHMENT
OF
R E L I G I O N,
WHICH MUST ON
PRINCIPLES OF FAITH
B E E V E R
P R E C A R I O U S.

C H E L M S F O R D :

Printed by W. CLACHAR, S. GRAY, and Co.
M,DCC,LXXXV.

W. D. A. V. O. U. R.
TO PROVE THAT
R. E. A. S. O. N
IS A SUFFICIENT
TO THE
FIRM ESTABLISHMENT



R. E. A. S. O. N
WITH AN
PRINCIPLES OF FAITH
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ALTHOUGH the following Tract has been too many Years published, to stand in Need of any Introduction; it may be yet, not quite from the Purpose, to point out that specific Distinction, by which the religious System it is intended to inculcate, is peculiarly marked.

The moral Doctrines of many established Religions, are undoubtedly, *in themselves*, excellent: and those of the renowned Confucius, pre-eminently so. But, while the aggregate Authenticity of the first (in their several Respects) is supported *solely* by Arguments drawn from traditional Facts, which (independent of their infinite Variety and dissonance) are neither reconcilable to Reason, nor to the regular Course and immutable Laws of

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Nature :

Nature: the Injunction of implicit Belief in them, cannot but seriously shock the discerning and unprejudiced. And for the Confucian Code, as it consists of mere Precepts, unsupported by any Authority, except the incomparable Sensations of its Author; tho' they are those of an indisputably wise and virtuous Man, they are but too open to the interested Attacks of any equally eloquent and artful Assailant, aided by the powerful Assistance of those Passions which Confucius would suppress, and which his opponents might at least as plausibly maintain to have been imparted to us, rather as an actual Blessing, than as an eventual and almost perpetual Source of Mortification.

The chief Aim then, of this artless Tract and its Appendix, is, effectually to obviate

obviate these Objections. And, instead of impeding the Observance of the very best moral Doctrines, by either connecting them with absurd and discordant Mysteries, or subjecting them to be rejected, as the mere unauthorized Precepts of an Individual; permanently to demonstrate the Expediency of Virtue, not barely on principles of present Interest, or internal Satisfaction. But, by the clearest Inferences, fairly resulting from Contemplations on the *really visible* Wonders of God's Creation (which are at all Times, and *every where*, equally manifest) universally to establish the eternal Existence of an OMNIPOTENT BEING, the inevitable *necessity* of his Equity, and with it, the pleasing Prospect of a *Future State*, as the due and infallible Reward of Virtuous Actions: for tho' the natural Inclinations of some extraordinary Men, may *alone* happily Suffice to promote their

Practice. Yet, will the *well-grounded* Hope of *future* Benefits, be an Inducement for the generality of the human Species but too necessary, to conciliate, with any Success, their renunciation of such *present* immoral or illicit Gratifications, as are often in their Power, even to the Ruin of their fellow Creatures; and, yet, either from their own Nature, or through Concealment, are beyond the possible Control or Reach of human Laws.

As

*An ENDEAVOUR to prove that REASON is
alone sufficient to the firm ESTABLISH-
MENT of RELIGION, &c.*

UPON an impartial Inquiry into the Causes of the short Duration of almost every Mode of Worship hitherto established, and of the continual Variations and Dissentions in such as have subsisted for any considerable Length of Time, I find myself reduced to acquiesce in the general Cry, that the Fault is in the human Heart; not however in that Division of Mankind, to which it is usually ascribed, the Multitude; *they* are merely passive, or at worst, Tools to the active Part, which are of three Kinds; the First, interestedly discerning, and who, though the professed Teachers and Protectors of Religion, have

yet, ever kept their own Importance and private Emolument so constantly in view, as (under the Seal of *Myſtery* and *Miracle*) never to let ſlip an Opportunity for ſuch Interpretation or Change, as ſhould be excluſively productive of Benefit to themſelves.

The Second, who are open, honeſt, unprejudiced, and of conſequence (where there are grounds for it) ſceptical, meaning no Ill, inadvertently furniſh Materials to a third unquiet Set, who though they at firſt aſpire only to teaze, and to triumph, grown more knowing in the End, and more ambitious by Succeſs, ſeldom fail of deſtroying, what they originally intended only to ridicule.

The Motives may have been various, but ſuch in general have been the Defenders, and ſuch (with the occaſional Aid of Conqueſt, freſh Impoſture and Credulity,

lity) the principal Agents in the Fate of most Religions as yet adopted.

If we trace it still higher, we shall, I fear, on tenting it, find the Heart equally corrupt : What ! but the Love of Power : or Vanity, and Interest in some other Shape, could induce the first Institutors of every Religion, to support a Code of Morals (necessarily well adapted, and good, or specious in all) on so precarious and unsound a Basis as that of *Faith* ; they but too plainly saw, That however more solid any other might have been, Posterity and the Community would alone reap the Benefit ; and that it was solely by *Miracles*, the present private End, could be speedily, exclusively, and effectually served.

Even so far let us forgive them. A natural Attachment to their own thriving Plan, might possibly prevent their foreseeing that every future Innovator, who should

should set up against it, could obviously be furnished with the same slight Materials.

But what every reasoning Man must reflect on with Indignation, is their premeditated and artful Prostitution of the Deity, whose Worship was to be established, and which must of Necessity be the Case, where *popular* Miracles were to be the Basis, as in all Religions founded on *Faith*; for, if they were not addressed *ad hominem*, they lost their Aim; and if they were so directed, they must be palpably (to suit their Capacities) ordinary, absurd, and such as they would never have dared to practise on the Experienced, Wary, and Disinterested: Can it be imagined? they should not have foreseen, that, after the *fanatic* Rage and Fermentation (caused by the Abolition of one Sect, and the Establishment of another) was subsided, the
very

very identical Means that had been made use of, to enforce Credit with the Weak, would be a Block in the Way of the Unprejudiced, never to be got over? for, that Faith and Reason are in Matters of Religion, totally independent, if not incompatible with each other, has been already too clearly proved, by too eminent a Writer, to need the least further Illustration; and with those by whom the Credentials of a Missionary are disputed, it is easy to guess the Reception and the Fate his Doctrine will meet.

Are we then? it is urged, to be left to the sole Guidance of our Wills, and to *those compunctious Visitings of Nature*, which even Savages may be supposed occasionally to have? I answer no; for, probably, the utmost they ever suggested to an uncultivated Mind, was (suited, I should imagine, to the awful and stupendous Phænomena that gave rise to those

those Feelings) a bare reverential Idea of a superior Being, which (as the Fears of the Weak, made them eager to appease its dreaded Wrath) the Cunning of the more Speculative and Aspiring easily improved into such Forms as Accident presented, or Invention dictated as most proper to enthrall the Minds of those they meant to govern.

To remove every Object of Imposition on the Credulous ; to meet on their own Ground the Candid and Unprejudiced, and to leave no Hold for the Interested to pervert, or for the Mischievous to discredit : in an enlightened Age, when the common Accidents of the Heavens are foreseen, and the Uncommon, found on Experience, and upon Record, to be, however dreadful, in no sort portentous, it should be laid down as a fundamental Axiom, that all supernatural Agency, as
relative

relative to the worldly Transactions of Man, did cease, at the Hour of his Creation, and the attributing any such *Partiality* to God, censured as derogatory and impious; the furthest Stretch of his Influence on Earth, consistent with the Religion of Reason, would be, the strengthening a Mind habitually employed in the Pursuit of Virtue; nor is that Term, tho' it may have infinitely various Relations, so vague as the Lovers of Argument have called it; its different Views might be each a Thesis for the Lecturers on moral Religion, as first, a strict Observance of the Laws of Nature, as dictated by mere Intuition and Conscience; and where that (though it generally speaks clear and loud enough) is silenced by the Passions, refer them to those of Society and Custom, if their Object be the Good of the Community; and lastly awe them with
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the Reproach and Penalty of a Breach of those of the Land: Can the most determined Cavillers deny, that an Obedience to these, is Virtue, though they may differ in different Nations. It is alone capable of endless Subdivisions, and might occupy the Teachers of it as much, and surely to more Advantage, than their eternal Comments on scriptural Texts.

Nothing, they say, but a Dread of the Horns of the Devil, is sufficient to curb the Passions of the Ignorant; I answer, no other Plan has been tried, and that, because the Generality of Mankind being weak and superstitious, the Few, desirous of leading them, knew too well their Interest, ever to miss availing themselves of an Aptitude so much to their Advantage; and still the rather, as a Generation or two might be spent in eradicating Prejudices so deeply rooted, by mere Dint of Argument,
which

which when effected, and the Multitude compleatly undeceived, another Age might pass away in establishing the *Habits* of a moral Religion ; yet I firmly believe, should an Event so utterly improbable (in the present State of the World) ever take place, nothing but an universal Return of Ignorance, could occasion even an Attack upon so well grounded and unexceptionable a Doctrine.

Besides, we have daily Proofs, that the Incitement to present Gratification, is greatly prevalent to the Apprehension of future uncertain Punishment ; and as to the Fool's having said, "There is no God," I fancy 'tis a Mistake, for the Fool scarcely ever thought about the Matter ; or if he did, his Weakness would rather have engendered Superstition than other ; the only *Pretenders* to Atheism, are the vain Lovers of Puzzle and Paradox, tenacious

cious of Maxims originally contracted (through Inattention and Vivacity) in the Society of Deists, whose Arguments they had caught up indistinctly, and by Halves ; or mistaken Philosophers, who, instead of giving *absolute* Credit to that only which they can demonstrate, most arrogantly and absurdly deny, whatsoever they are unable to comprehend.

The truly wise Man is cautious, and in Matters where his Senses (through the Inadequacy of his reasoning Faculty) seem at Variance with his Principles, confident in the hourly Elucidation of Experience, exclaims with the Poet, *There are more Wonders in Heaven and Earth—than we dream of in our Philosophy*, or to the anxious Multitude, requiring Miracles in the Desert, *Jupiter est quodcunque vides* : Can there? he continues, be a more stupendous one, than the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in their constant and invariable Progress
though

through the azure Concave that surrounds us, brilliant and pleasing, as it is awful ! Should Reason ask a clearer Evidence than is given by the Work itself, not barely of the Existence, but of the consummate Excellence of the Artist ; are we not rather (when we would penetrate and define the mysterious Existences of Light, Heat, Attraction, Gravitation, Life, or the Wonders of the even visible Part of his Creation) ever humiliatingly compelled to own, that here their Subtilty, there, their Immensity, seems to mock the fruitless and feeble Efforts of our Fancy, and reduce us to the State of Madmen and of Dreamers, whose Clue of Ideas fails them, as Story says Expression did formerly, the Labourers of Babel.

Can any Man, with the least Tincture of Ingenuoufness, who reflects on the impassable Limits prescribed to each Species

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of

of Animal and of Vegetable, and on their infinite Variety, deny that it is as precise and regular, as it is an amazing Composition! and does he not blush for and pity the pertinacious Ravings of those, who in despite of Common Sense, could attribute such *invariable* Effects, to a *fortuitous* and blind Jumble of Atoms.

Let the Unreasoning persist in seeking for, till they by Consequence deny, a primary Cause, I am well satisfied that what I see, is too *premanently* regular to be the Work of Chance, and too vast for the Hand of any Thing less than Omnipotence. Amply content with this, I ask no further Proof of God's Existence; and since I know he is, I shall never be perverse enough to admit a Doubt of so pleasing a Truth, because I cannot penetrate the wonderful Mystery of how he came to be, but readily conclude him ETERNAL.

Having

Having now discovered that the Portion of Reason he has allotted me, is, if cultivated with Integrity, sufficient to the detecting and destroying the Errors of Prejudice, I cannot be withheld from so grateful and important an Interest, as an Inquiry into such of the moral Attributes of this unknown, and wonderful God, as may lead to the establishing on the firm Basis of *Argument*, a steady Dependence upon his Equity and Goodness, though with reverential Diffidence, and no further than I feel it, an indispensable Duty owing to the Quiet of Mind, when it shall be perhaps less capable of distinguishing, and may wish to recur to the Decision of its most dispassionate and vigorous Period.

The necessary Result then, of candid, but *uncontrouled* Reflection, on this all-powerful Being is, to conclude him just; for, to what Purpose or End, should he (whose Attainment of all Things is bound-

ed only by his Will, and whose Dominion could by Partiality or Derangement, acquire no Accession) be otherwise ; besides, the unerring Punctuality of his Works sufficiently implies a Love of Rectitude ; and does human Reason arrogate too much, in thinking it incompatible with that Justice, to commit a virtuous Man to Annihilation, after having passed in active Benevolence and patient Resignation, a toilsome and painful Life, *as little of his own seeking*, as were the Miseries he suffered of his acquiring ? It cannot but be answered, no ; and the Alternative plainly announces a future State, without the Necessity of Revelation.

But, whether the Perpetuation of our animal Existence will be indiscriminately extended to all, is a Question upon which Volumes might be speciously written ; guided however, by the preceding Conclusion, I incline to the Negative, since a Futurity,

tarity, to such as were entitled only to the condign Penalty of their Offences, would imply rather Cruelty and Vengeance than Justice, for, the Punishment of Crimes, when inflicted by a totally independent Being, (if it be not *in terrorem*) is no other; and it could never with Propriety be called Exemplary, unless the Living were *actual* Witnesses of the Delinquents Sufferings.

The next Article to be considered is, in what Relation we stand to the unalterable Laws of this great Disposer of all Things, and they to us; and if human Reason *alone* suffices to the conceiving such a State of them, as, when submitted to impartial Judgment, shall enforce a ready Assent to their Equity.

In order to this, let it be first remarked that we were stationed here, with all those Faculties, Wants, and Passions, that we

are so incessantly the Dupes of, and which, were they in *general* weaker than Reason, had been insufficient to the Purposes for which they were probably intended.

Secondly, Let us suppose the full and uninterrupted Existence of Free-will, that is, its Power of *determining*, from the Impression of external Objects on our Senses ; nor can I think the Deity in the least liable to Complaint, in that he *may* foresee these accidental Causes and Effects, for it must of force be allowed, that if he *can* all Things, he surely may have endowed this whole terrestrial System, with Properties and Powers, adequate to the End they were ordained for, and the great Work compleated, *may* stand aloof, and even have imposed on himself, an absolute and impenetrable Ignorance of the *Detail* of worldly Transactions ; it is, strictly reasoning, inconsistent with that Equity we attribute to him, to believe otherwise.

Thirdly

Thirdly and lastly, Let us conclude the human Race, subjected, while on Earth, to the hazardous State of a just and fair *Probation*, which could never truly be the Case, unless Passion and Accident, with the endless Vicissitude of Pain and Pleasure, Good and Ill, Virtue or Vice, they may occasion, were loosed upon us, with unlimited Sway; and hence only the Source of Merit, and hence the real *Origin of Evil*; the flowery Paths of the First, are even at their Entrance peaceful and pleasant; but when advanced, and habituated in them, the very Pursuit may with Propriety be stiled its own Reward, were there no greater in View; BENEVOLENCE only and FORTITUDE, are the Guides of that luxurious Enthusiasm they lead to.

Were the Almighty to indulge our preposterous Notions, and to appoint a *general* and *standing* Miracle, such as should at once enlighten us, and attest its divine

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Guidance,

Guidance, (for the Inefficacy of *local* and *traditional* ones, is but too evident :) or, were this Part of the Creation regulated on any other conceivable Plan, a human Creature would be *then*, nearly analogous to a Clock, or any other Piece of ingenious Machinery ; and would *infallibly* perform in just Proportion to the Accuracy it was made with and attended to : On the contrary, how elevated is the great Cato's Sentiment, and the obvious Principles it is pregnant with, *Dixit semel nascentibus Auctor—quicquid scire licet.*

Nor will manly Candour, ever doubt that *Reason alone* sufficiently attests itself to be our only Guide ; for without *perfectly Free-Will*, totally independent of the *Direction*, Influence, or even Foreknowledge of his Maker, the Man would, (like the Automaton,) deserve neither Praise nor Blame, Reward nor Punishment ; nor could be justly said to have the least
Merit

Merit of his own, which can be solely constituted by his *own actual* good or ill Direction of his *willing* Faculty, though he might well reflect much upon his Author.

Thus it is (I think) clearly proved, that of whatsoever Advantages the most explicit and authentic Revelation of the Divine Will, might (in a political View) be productive, though by the Light of such Instructions every Step we made in this Life tended to Pefection and to Happiness; yet it must, if admitted in even the minutest Instance of *Instruction or Document from above*, totally disappoint the purpose of Probation; it is also equally evident, that in a *probatory State*, *Evil was indispensibly necessary*; for, without its Existence, there could possibly be neither Error nor Temptation to it; and consequently, no Means (by the avoiding it) of *acquiring Merit*, in the Estimation of our God, whose

whose Power of creating originally perfect Beings, or of revealing, and effectually establishing Rules for Infallibility of Conduct, no Man in his Senses will ever think of disputing.

In this short and summary Review of so important a Subject, I have endeavoured to reduce such Thoughts as have at different Periods of my Life occurred to me upon it, to simple and distinct Maxims and Principles; which were collectively, too much clogged and biassed by Passion and Prejudice; to admit of their being fairly examined. Ranged, or rather cleared as they now stand, each may separately be the Thesis of elaborate Discussion, as the whole, though the Work of two Winter's Evenings, is the Result of many Years attentive Consideration on its Parts.

The Doctrine of free uninfluenced Will, as stated above, seems, on its first Face, to reject the Use of Prayer; to what End
should

should we call upon the Deity, or for what should we ask, if we believe he has imposed on himself such a total Unconcern about human Events? It should be therefore, well distinguished, that it is to the *actual Detail only*, he is said to be insensible, by no Means, to the good or evil Inclinations produced by them on the Mind; and it must necessarily follow, that as these Effects are now the sole Objects of his Contemplations respecting the Inhabitants of the Earth; if, upon a *retrospect* View, (which may very consistently be allowed,) he perceives the steady Pursuit of Virtue, and the ardent Request of Abilities to accomplish whatever is generous and laudable, to have uniformly influenced the Prayers and Actions of any Man; such Prayer, and *such only*, far from being indifferent, *may* in the End induce his God, even to accept him as he is, and satisfied with the Trial he has
 already

already stood, (*) confirm him, with his
future

(*) Least they, whose Interest it might be, to pervert and puzzle the plain Doctrines of Reason, should, hereafter, wrest this Passage into the visionary Idea of *Methodistical Grace*: It may be right to observe that, the Confirmation here alluded to, is but, what every Man of incorruptible Integrity must be sensible of, *when*, by a persevering Cultivation of the Habits of Rectitude and *Propriety*, he has at length contracted, both a facility in distinguishing, and a Zealous attachment to the Observance of their Dictates. He may be then said, compleatly to possess the *mens sibi conscia recti*. As Virgil comprehensively terms that luxurious sensation.—Nothing is more difficult than to be, either daring, generous, frugal, abstemious, or even devout, *with propriety*.—

*Est modus in rebus sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra, citraque, nequit consistere rectum.*

Useless Austerities, are as unreasonable as they are unnatural, and in lieu of conciliating the Approbation of the Deity, are but a mistaken rejection of his Bounties.—The most exalted Virtue is perfectly consistent with the liberal Indulgence of every pleasing Sense, provided it be grateful and *rational*, and that, in its process or procurement, we transgress
not

future Assistance, in that Pitch of Virtue,
to

not the awful Laws of Nature, that we offend not against those of our Country, that we shock not the *approved Maxims* of Society, nor, by the prodigal abuse of sensual Pleasures, ultimately enervate either Body or Mind.—He who acts in *such* strict Conformity to these Rules, as to resist every Temptation (however alluring) that might tend to infringe them, and who, with *the Good of Mankind ever foremost in his View*, is at all times ready, (whatever Risque, Privation, or Self-Denial it might involve) to impart to his Fellow-Creatures, such services as, in similar Circumstances, he would, himself wish for, or would applaud in any other Individual;—that Man, I deem, unequivocally *accepted*: for he is effectually *confirmed* in the acknowledged Requisites,—BENEVOLENCE AND FORTITUDE.—As the pleasing Prospect of a Futurity, cannot fail of exciting these Feelings, a thorough conviction and Reliance upon the Equity of God, cannot be too Zealously inculcated. But,—if it *could* possibly consist with the frailty of our Nature, for any Man (without such Prospect or reliance) to act, *invariably*, up to the above Rules; I will not hesitate to say, that, far from extenuating, it would even enhance the Merit of such a Phoenix!—The
Existence

to which, by his former meritorious Perseverance he had nobly wrought himself; nor can such Protection to be in any Sort deemed incompatible with the most rigid Tenets of Free-Will and fair Probation, since it relates only to the *Morals* of one *already approved*, and whose Removal would indeed (if not the mere Effect of Time and common Accident) be an Infringement of the Doctrine; Prayer confirms and strengthens the Love of Rectitude, as it *implies* a Witness, and a Judge of the Action, whose Accomplishment is required; for although it be unnoticed in *present*, it is surely reserved

Existence of so very extraordinary a Character, is but too unlikely, for it ever to injure the Cause of true Religion, although this statement of the *Case*, sufficiently illustrates the gross Absurdity, of annexing *exclusive Merit*, to the involuntary Act of *mere Belief*.

reserved with all its Motives, to infallible Scrutiny in *future*.

Thanksgiving is also acceptable, as it implies Content, and Gratitude to the Bestower of all Things; for, as was observed before (though 'tis a Truth, often impenetrable to our Philosophy) it is probable that nothing was made in vain; and in fact there are few Objects or Occurrences, from which useful Experience and Benefit may not be collected; as, the most efficacious Medicines from Poisons, Prudence from Casualties, and from every Evil Patience.

F I N I S.

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(1)

A. Withering

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

TENTH TRACT.

THE ENDEAVOUR TO PROVE
 THAT REASON IS ALONE
 SUFFICIENT TO THE FIRM ESTA-
 BISHMENT OF RELIGION, WAS

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written

written fourteen Years ago. And tho' there is nothing in that Tract that the Author wishes to alter, yet, to those who have not so much reflected on this important Subject, as he has done, the following Appendix will more fully explain many Parts of it.

He ever deemed it unworthy to Trifle or to Speak equivocally, in Matters so truly Serious. And, as little can be *here* wrested by Misinterpretation, the Reader will have, likewise, few essential Omissions to regret.—

regret.—Should it convince but one Score in the present Generation, its Success may perchance be largely multiplied in the next. For, it is calculated, at least, to *maintain* its Ground. Since no Man whose Mind is once well impressed with Truth, can possibly be Wild enough to re-attach himself to Mystery. And, should it ever in future, be happily adopted by Higher Powers; as, the Defence of Truth, will alter little in our Style, so I Trust, that to a Briton, it will ever appear as ho-

nourable, and surely, as consistent
with Candor, as, the Defence of
Faith.

Chelmsford,

Sept. 1, 1785.

APPENDIX

(5)

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

TENTH TRACT.

IT was the Observation of a liberal Reasoner, on his Perusal of the above Tract, tho' not apparently in Objection to it; that a general Conformity to some established Mode of Worship, was, at least *politically* necessary.—I readily declare my sincere Concurrence in that

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Opinion:

Opinion : nothing indeed, that I have ever written on this interesting Subject, can be any how wrested to militate against it.

But, does it therefore follow, that we should wretchedly submit to the very worst of Tyranny ; and that the human Mind should be *universally* fettered and debased by an humiliating and forced acquiescence with Tenets, even glaringly absurd ; Tenets which, if its Speculations have been liberal, and its natural Powers in any degree exerted, it cannot but be seriously shocked with. I say universally, for these Reflections are generally addressed, and apply equally to every Country. Can any Man ? for Instance, when he perceives, that *altho'* religious Creeds are almost as infinitely diversified, and even opposite, as the very Climates in which they are adopted ;
they

they are yet ! alike absurdly enjoined, both as authentickly conveying the reverend Precepts of Infallibility, and as the mysterious Objects of implicit Faith. Can any Man, I say, reasonably impressed with the eternal Consistency of a just Deity, reflect on this, and not commiserate the depraved Condition of Humanity ?

Establish your Religion, nothing is, either morally or politically more expedient : but, let it be such, as may be both preached and received without a Blush : such, as against the most discerning Sceptic, may be defended on Principles of probability and Candor. And, tho' its practical Duties may ultimately require the enforcement of the civil Power, in the Promulgation of its Doctrines, avoid every appearance of Coercion,

tion, save such as is implied, in the fairest and most temperate Argument.—Enthrall and welcome the Minds of your People; to be the Slave of Reason is a respectable state of Vassallage: but, in the mild Process of that glorious Achievement, let the Agency of Minds only be employed; ingenuous Minds, scrupulously and stanchly trained to the pursuit of Virtue. Your divine Supremacy will be then, without Reproach, and even Philosophy shall applaud your Triumph.—Intimidate you may, and Silence, by other Means, but none else will *convince*, and permanently retain your intellectual Empire.

Remember too, that those you would convince, are moulded of the same Materials with yourselves, that their Passions and their Interests are actuated by the

the same Impulse : that if properly and gradually habituated, their Intellects are alike capable of just Impressions. And tho' their plain unsophisticated Sense, indignantly revolts at your fruitless Endeavours to impose *that* on them, which yourselves cannot explain, but are wretchedly reduced to declare mysterious, and above the reach of Reason ! yet would their honest discerning Minds, however lingeringly loath to distrust that Reason, which you on other Occasions, so superiorly affect, gladly incline their well disposed Attention, to the *intelligible* Suggestions of simple Argument.

If then, instead of shocking their Understandings with unmeaning and unavailing Miracles, you would direct their Minds to the *really useful* Contemplations of such, as, tho' in the *supremest* Degree

gree transcendent, are yet, actually and visibly existing. And, commencing with the well connected dependence, and cheerful Harmony of the STUPENDOUS WHOLE, and with discriminating attention pointing out to them, the infinite, yet permanently invariable Detail of God's Creation, you would by *progressive Consequence* prove to them the indisputable Existence, the Omnipotence, the Independence, the infallible Precision, the *fairly deducible* Justice of the Deity. And by regular Conclusion and honest Inference, the well-grounded probability of his rewarding that Virtue, which he must of Necessity delight in.—If you would further, from their own mutual Commerce and relative Dependence on each other, prove to them, the material advantages of cultivating its general Practice, and the inevitable Danger they must themselves incur,

incur, by a savage neglect of it in their Companions. Can there be a doubt with any one, in the least acquainted with the human Heart, but that, flattered with their own quick and easy Comprehension of a religious System, founded on a regular Chain of such clear and pleasing Truths. And plainly discovering that Mystery and Imposition were at length discarded; the moderate would be struck and engaged by its extensive utility, the devout and sanguine, warmed and in love with Virtue.

Nor need we toil for its genuine Description, or travel through Lybia's Sandy Desarts to invoke the Oracle, as the far more inspired Cato, with manly steadiness observed; when, nobly turning from the Porch of Jove's unexplored Temple, he peremptorily rejected, as *superfluous*,
the

the proffered Precepts of Ammon's Priestesses.—Both Brutus and himself were already perfect in Paths of Virtue, for they had long, and indeviably trod them: exemplary in every Action of a toilsome Life, except the Last: so, just is Solon's memorable *Dictum*! nor, (had the Idea of Probation, once entered their virtuous Minds) would they so rashly have asserted their own Competency to conclude their *worldly Trial* finished. Nor, by the precipitate disposal of a *Chance*, so dearly purchased, would they have virtually renounced their well-grounded Title to the Immortal Prize.

Far however, very far be it from me, to pass illiberal Censures on the respected Memory of such truly exalted Characters. Their last unhappy Act, tho' blindly desperate, was the approved

ed Practice of their Country. Yet, I think Cæsar, with all the Failings invidiously ascribed to him, would, in no Condition have followed it: *his* Spirit was above Despair, the Resources of his Mind inexhaustible. The unhappy, devoted Brutus knew him well, but he was too noble to admit evasive palliating Distinctions, to act or to consent were to him equally distressing, and when he aimed his Poniard at the Heart, he both admired and loved; it was himself, his Gratitude, his every Comfort that he renounced, and stoically sacrificized, to what he deemed his Duty.

But, without being restrained by so excusable a Partiality, I will continue my Digression; if an Inquiry so intimately relating to an important moral Duty, can be so termed: and, upon the
Principle

Principle abovementioned, I will endeavor, with *sufficient Austerity*, summarily, to investigate the moral Error of an Action, but too familiar to my Countrymen, and which has been yet! so ably defended by the justly celebrated *Montesquieu*, that his seventy-sixth *Persian letter*, on that dangerous Subject, remains as is supposed, to this Day unanswered.

He opens this interesting Defence, with some severe Censures on the Injustice of *Posthumous Persecution*. He then proceeds to reprobate the Iniquity of a Law, which would cruelly wrest from an unhappy Mortal, oppressed with Disease Contempt, and Despair; the only remaining Remedy which his Misfortunes had left him. He bewails the Hardship of being reluctantly held to the Service of a Society, that he is anxiously desirous

desirous to quit, and to the Observance of a Contract that he never originally consented to. He asserts, that, if the Laws of Society are founded on the Prospect of mutual Advantage, he is undoubtedly justified in renouncing them, when they are become, *to him*, burthensome. That Life, having been bestowed as a Benefit, he is surely at liberty to lay it down, when it ceases to be a Benefit. That the Deity, can never differ so widely from every other Benefactor, as to enforce the Acceptance and expect the retention of such Gifts, as must involve eventual Wretchedness.—I am told, he says, that if I release my suffering Spirit from that Body to which God has united it, I both resist him, and disturb the Order of his Providence, yet! that if I level Mountains, or change the Course of Rivers, no such Disturbance

bance is implied.—How am I to reconcile such absurd Contradictions? will that Part of me which is material, when converted into a blade of Grass, a Worm, or any other natural Production, to the Nourishment of which it may, *in its turn*, have contributed, be an object less interesting or extraordinary? and, for my Soul, will it not, when freed from its terrestrial Encumbrance, instantly be purer and more Sublime?

Nothing but our Pride could have suggested such Inconsistencies, we so vainly over-rate our own Importance, as to infer the possibility of a derangement in the vaste Chain of Providence by the irregular disposal of so important a Link!!! nor will that Pride permit us to reflect, that, even the great Globe
which

which we inhabit (if brought into Comparison with the unnumbered Worlds that float in the infinity of Space) is but as a drop in the unfathomable Ocean.—And, for one of its miserable Inhabitants (amidst the ceaseless and jarring Accidents of Nature) neither could his Dissolution, nor its Cause be perceptible, but for the unbounded Comprehension of Omnipotence.

Though it was as unnecessary as it might have proved unsuccessful, to attempt the ornamental parts of the noble President's Letter. I thought it but just to set down the essential Heads of his ingenious Argument, in as strong Language as I was able. And, it will I believe, appear, that they are in *themselves* such stubborn Truths, as to be combated with advantage, on no *fair* Principle, but of *Probation*. As the Let-

ter is written in a borrowed Name, I will in that, at least, follow its Author: and gladly commit my Arguments, against the rashness of these Virtuous Republicans, to the Conduct of the renowned Athenian, upon whose moral and comprehensive FINEM RESPICE, they are in a great measure grounded.

Solon then, I will presume, might first, in nearly his own memorable Words, have told them, that, independent of its being premature, their Rashness had clearly rendered their worldly Trial incomplete.—That further, if they were sincerely solicitous of *heaping* the Measure of their Fortitude, their last Act, was as inconsistent as it was rash, since, it palpably implied their having declined a Conflict, which they should (on that Principle) even have courted: but, to which

which they seemed, alas ! very unequal : it was with their own overbearing Pride : —That to seek in Death, a poor Asylum against the Contumely, or even the humiliating Virtues of their respective Conquerors, was unworthy of that Reputation which they weakly feared to outlive. —That in Circumstances similar to theirs, the truly noble Mind (indefatigable in its Exertions) turns every Occurrence to its Advantage. And, Oppression itself might have administered the Means of shewing their unconquerable Spirit. —That their Predecessor Varro, even after the dreadful Overthrow of Cannæ, was above *despairing of the Republic*. —That self Destruction, was the miserable Reverse, of genuine Fortitude : which, consisting, in steady self denial, unregretting Loss or generous Alienation, patient Endurance, and active Re-

source: it put a *churlish* End to the possible Exertion of either, as they might in future, respectively have served their glorious Cause.—That they had already, indisputably, great *acquired Merit*, but that, as, at their Age, it was still susceptible of large Accession, so it was likewise (from the fallibility of our Natures) Subject to considerable diminution.—That *Probation therefore, can be consummate, only, by involuntary Death.*—That if it were otherwise, every novice Enthusiast, weary of the Austerities he had for a Time persisted in, would gladly preclude the possibility of a vicious Lapse, and cunningly precipitate that Period, which should reward his mercenary Fortitude.—And finally, that, our Existence being probably committed to us, as a beneficial *Chance* in the great Lottery of Providence: subject to the endless Accidents

cidents of Good and Ill that it is chequered with, the Ballance of the first being largely in our favor, but, dependent on the free *Decision* and *Disposal* of our Reason, which, though unequally cultivated by Individuals, yet, from the aggregate *Experience*, *Observation*, and *Contribution of Ages*, amply sufficing to the above *Inferences*, and to every moral *Rule of Conduct*: if (with such *Means of Information*) weary or discontented with an Existence, committed to us on this implied Condition; we violently part with it. We by that rash Act, obviously dispose of our *Chance*, give up the Contest, and wretchedly relinquish every Title to that immortal Prize, which was the proposed Object of its successful Conclusion.

The Cogency of these Arguments, I

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readily

readily submit to the Determination of the disprejudiced Reader. But, if he admits that they are employed with the least colour of Effect, in the Arraignment of two such distinguished Characters, sanctified, as they truly were, with every virtue that unremitting Perseverance could possibly accumulate, during the toilsome Period of their *unfinished* Lives. I may, I think, without Hazard assert their Prevalence, when pointed against the rashness of such ordinary, unhollowed Individuals as, on the first serious Loss or Disappointment, unrestrained by that awful dread of Dissolution, *providentially implanted in us by the eternal Law*, and, unfurnished with a single Plea of *acquired Merit*, heedlessly rush into the Abyss of Futurity. Either, under a foolish Confidence in the abused Benignity of their

their God, or madly daring the offended Justice of his Tribunal.

The Offence of these however, if it eternally renounces Hope, involves its own punishment, and would at any rate be, relatively venial, for it is themselves they injure, and often, through *involuntary* Ignorance. But, for the selfish Authors of that Ignorance, who, not contented with the arrogant suppression of such important Enquiries, have wretchedly invalidated the moral Precepts even of their own Doctrines, by connecting them with absurd Miracles and supernatural Revelations. For these I say, when considered as the blasphemous Inventors of Fictions, derogatory to the Consistency of an impartial God; the rooted Mischiefs they have actually circulated, and the good they have virtually

prohibited, in impudently daring to silence the intellectual Faculties, least by the advancement of Knowledge their vile Impostures should be detected, have been too atrocious in their consequences and too seriously extensive, either to expect or to deserve Forgiveness.

Nor can the moral Doctrines that have speciously accompanied their Impostures (although in themselves politically beneficial) in any considerable degree extenuate their Guilt; for, that they were annexed to these Impostures, with the sole view of craftily ensuring their false Currency with the unwary and their Protection with the Powerful, is but too evident; since, in most religious Institutions, however dispersed and varied, the *imposed* Idea of true Piety, is so exclusively vested in the implicit Belief of its
 respective

respective Myſteries, as to declare the moſt benevolent and perfevering Practice of moral Duties, ſo totally unavailing, as not to be even expiatory, without it !

For the indisputable Truth of this, without needing the ſavage examples of Saracen Tyranny and Barbarity, we have but to revert to the early Years of the ſixteenth Century, and ſhudder at the brutal Cruelties perpetrated in the moſt enlightened Parts of Europe, *againſt the moſt exemplary and deſerving of its Subjects.* Nor were the Objects of theſe human Sacrifices to holy Vengeance ! charged with profeſſed Innovation, or even with *openly* aſſerting their diſbelief of what was ſoon after by Authority declared abſurd, but cruelly enſnared by the wanton Treachery of *enforced*
 Answers,

Answers, to entrapping Questions. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

It is impossible, without blushing for the pernicious Priestcraft, and the contented Imbecility of our fellow Creatures, to reflect, that in one large Moiety of Europe, these very Mysteries, (on which no less than our eternal Salvation is said to depend) least they should be any how penetrable to Sense, are actually to this Day practised in a dead, and generally unknown Language ! and that in the other half, it is little more than two Centuries since such disgraceful Absurdities were abolished, at the expence of Torrents of Blood !

That Toleration is even thus far advanced, and with it (to a certain Degree) the Emancipation of human Reason,

son, is surely a pleasing Reflection, but, till the trite Subterfuge of Prejudice be totally exploded, 'till religious Mysteries, cease to be pedantically imposed as the objects *solely* of implicit Belief, 'till some Code, in short, shall be agreed on, that, in whatever Country, may stand the Test of Argument, independent of Miracle or Revelation: neither will your Doctrines be freed from the well-grounded Sarcasms of Sceptics, and the Neglect that must consequently follow, nor can Reason be said, compleatly to have emerged from her Captivity.

Make your Religion respectable, and it will be invariably respected, if you wish it to sink deep, and to take steady Root, found it on the broad Basis of rational Argument. So far from its being *then*, obnoxious to Schism, it *must* in time

time obtain, even universality. But, in its present State, by what *Candid* Criterion shall the true one be acknowledged; the Test of Miracles, will, with equal plausibility, be claimed by all. For nothing can be more unreasonable than to expect, that, amidst the endless Catalogue of Mysteries and Miracles ascribed to impious Prophets and to pretended Deities, any should foolishly give Place to other.—Each being alike unfounded in Reason, its *interested* *Protectors* will be equally tenacious, and equally entitled to persist in the enforcement of Belief to its respective Impostures.

But, further to assert the Competency of my *former* Arguments for the *Religion of Reason*, and more explicitly to illustrate many of those Truths on which they were founded; I will beg leave to observe

observe that ; if, in the endlessly diversified Detail of God's terrestrial Creation, we find the Qualities and Functions peculiar to each Article, discriminated and allotted with unerring aptness and precision. And, if raising our Contemplations to the brilliant Firmament, nothing is discoverable in the extensive Progress of the vast planetary System, (even to the Eye of scrupulous Investigation) but, still unerring Majesty and truly providential Exactitude.—No incongruous Assortments in the whole, no Glimps of Accident, the *Means ever accurately proportioned to the End.* Are we not fully justified in believing? That, that noble Faculty by which *only* we seem in any Eminence to be distinguished, was, exclusively imparted to *us*, for the express purpose of that Enquiry of all others the most interesting.

Truth

Truth must of force be uniform and every where the same. The just Deity therefore, ever consistent in the Propriety of his allotments (far from leaving us dependent on the locality of our Birth for myterious and discordant Prescriptions of Faith and Conduct. Or negligently subjecting our Prospects of Futurity, to the precarious Chance of mere Contingencies) evidently has destined our Reason, and with full sufficiency adapted it to the Discovery of moral Truth. And, as it is of all Objects, the most important, even, to our present wellfare: its Search, likewise, should be of all others the most unprejudiced and Free.

It must of necessity follow, that as the Means, and Habits of steady reasoning, can be contracted only by Experience and Analogie; the admission of any
other

other Rule in the Process of so serious an Enquiry, would be preposterous. If then, to expect our belief of that which shocks our Understanding, is, in a human Being Tyrannical; to suppose it the Injunction of a benign Deity, (however revealed) would ill consist with that Rectitude, which we perceive in every Instance to be inseparable from the other establishments of his Creation. And consequently, that, to debase the Mind by the vain enforcement of Acquiescence with whatever absurd Mysteries, the local Accident of our Birth may have obtruded, is as repugnant to human Reason, as to any just, or liberal or rational Idea of the Deity.

By obvious Inferences, fairly resulting from the Contemplation of his Works, these Reflections, with those they follow and *allude* to, *naturally* have flowed.

They

They tend, I very sincerely believe, to the establishment of that Truth which is the important Object of our pursuit. Their consistency with what they, throughout, profess, is no inconsiderable Proof of it. For, the same Objects if considered with the same unprejudiced Integrity, will, (to *every reasoning Mind*) invariably suggest the same Conclusions.

On the other hand, were *supernatural* Instructions necessary, or, were any thing besides *Probation* meant, (for which Purpose only, Reason could have been imparted to us) it had been more compendious, more expediently consistent with the Benignity of Providence, and (if we may judge by the *instinctive Republics*) certainly, more productive of civil Advantages, to have indowed us, with something analogous to that unerring Instinct, so bountifully

bountifully allotted to all the animal Creation, excepting Man.

But as Instinct, must have involved *infallibility*, it would have, of force, precluded the possible Existence of *acquired Merit*. As would, likewise, Revelation, if, *often repeated, universal, and Uniform*.

The Discordance of Revelations is sufficiently notorious, and as that Discordance necessarily involves their *general falsity*. To discover the Orthodox (if its Existence were compatible with the consistency of the *apparent* Maxims of the Deity) would be a Duty, indispensibly incumbent on every Individual.

If it were possible then, for the Edu-
C
cation

cation of each, to be unprejudiced, the Language of the whole World the same, and our Minds unremittingly employed in the Endeavor to discriminate from the numberless Myſteries and Revelations, and to fix, with *Plauſibility*, on that, by which our future Faith and Conduct ſhould be directed: even with theſe *expediting* Advantages, little of our Lives, I fear, would be remaining for its Practice. And if this tedious Taſk be omitted, our Rule of Faith and Conduct, evidently is left to the mere local Accident of our Birth.—Yet, in the Face of this! are REASONABLE BEINGS *every where* enjoined, implicitly to believe; and, what is, if poſſible, ſtill more incomprehenſible, this abſurd Injunction has hitherto ſuperſeded the intrinsic merit of exemplary Morals, and the obvious Truths of Rational Argument!

I cannot

I cannot then, but Zealously repeat (what these arguments seem almost to demonstrate) the universal Expediency of totally exploding all admiffion of fuch discordant and impious Myfteries. And of, *mildly and gradually*, inculcating the Contemplation *only* of that stupendous one, which is manifest to every reflecting Man, in the unerring Progress of God's Creation. And from which (teeming as it does with *natural* fuggestions, clearer than ever Oracle delivered, both of moral and religious *Inferences*;) if some Code were drawn, fuch as, being truly confonant to human Reason, could not but be every where admiffible. As it would amply furnifh the foundeft Arguments for future Rewards, and, at leaft, *privatory* Punifhments, which might, by the fecular Arm be more *beneficially* realized on Earth. And as it would be *naturally*

productive of a Religious Creed, congenially reconcilable to that Reason on which it had been grounded: it could not fail of cultivating such Habits, as must deserve the Approbation of the Deity; by whose own eternal Ordonances they were suggested. And soon substituting the term of Virtuous, for that of Bigot, it would equally entitle us to the love and the regard of our fellow Citizens. For, as *Junius* wisely has observed, by *really* informing the Understanding, you effectually correct and enlarge the Heart.

Before I conclude this Appendix, it will not be quite foreign to its Intent, *generally* to enquire into the probable source of those Impious Mysteries, which, though they have so long checked the voice of Reason, and so profanely superseded every Object of true Piety; have

have yet, obtained, and to this day retain, the imposing Epithet of Sacred!— I will then, (with all due Defference to the poetical Idea of the *accomplished* Eve) suppose the human Race newly emerged from their original, truly Savage State: and those natural *Aptitudes* to Reason, with which Omnipotence had exclusively endowed them, just beginning to be developed by the late, but happy dawns of articulate Speech, which the desire of communicating their Wants and their Perceptions, would (as was ordained) of necessity, in time, produce.

At this Auspicious Period, when we were first, fairly entitled to the distinction of rational; I will further suppose, that, even to Intellectuals, yet, but in the Bud; as the transcendent brilliancy and the majestic Progress of the great Sun,

by Day, and of those lesser glories of the Firmament, by Night, with the periodical return of Seasons and other Objects of Amazement, could not but suggest (at least to the more forward) the Implied Existence of a SUPREME DIRECTOR; so, the tremendous Phænomena often attendant on the lowering Elements, could not but, at times, engender Fear. And as Timidity seems to be one of those Instinctive Impulses, which, as indispensibly necessary to the perpetuation of the Species, during, at least, the *Infancy* of Reason, was, with some others, providentially implanted (even) in the human Mind: it soon furnished an advantage to the aspiring hopes of the crafty and intrepid few. Who, by first, perhaps, engaging to deprecate the wrathful Thunders of the Deity, encouraged by an appearance of Success, and by the
interested

interested protection of the more robust; soon contrived, from the suggestions of accident, improved by Cunning, to fabricate such Mysteries, as at once fixed their own Credit, and tended in some degree to enthrall the deluded Multitude.

In this Condition (which supposes the origin of Priestcraft, nearly coeval with the beginnings of Society) still more firmly to establish Imposture, we may suppose these unexperienced Nations, to have been invaded or over-reached, either by the superior force or Skill of Sturdy Emigrants from their more enlightened Neighbours; who, by the Arts they introduced, and from those uncommon Powers, both of mind and Body which prompted and supported their Enterprizes, with the plyant Concurrence of the sacred Ministers they had secured,

easily imposed the Belief even of their own Divinity. Hence, evidently the Origen of many Gods among the Heathens. The Descendents of these, could not fail to furnish many more : and the adulatory Apotheosis of Heroes, merely as such, was alone a fertile Source.

For the endless variety of Impostures and of their Mysteries, whatever is deficient in the heathen Mythologie, will be amply supplied by the Discoveries of latter Ages ; which will likewise contribute sufficiently to prove, that the appeal on these Occasions, has invariably been to the Fears and to the Credulity of their Converts ; to the total exclusion of every Argument drawn from Reason.

To enumerate their Oracles, and to
recount

recount the costly Offerings by which their equivocating Priests were made the Venal Instruments of Policy, would be superfluous. All these however, in their tendency, were Innocent, nay, laudable, when we compare them with the inhuman Ravages begun under the Saracen Banners, and continued with such brutal Bigotry by their *meek* opponents, for, the *sole* Glory of their Respective Gods, and under the absurd plea of Infallibility on both sides.—Till that disgraceful Period, every Nation had been contented with the snug Cultivation of its own Errors. Nor had the forcible obtrusion of them upon Mankind, been yet made the sacrilegious Plea for every species of Murder and universal Devastation.—The Defence even of their miserable Schisms! has cost more Blood, than went, probably, to the Conquest of the World.

and

and to the establishment of the great Roman Empire.

That those, now, contemptibly occupying its Regal Seat, should have been for many Centuries employed in miserably methodizing Imposture, for the base purposes of Interest, and even Traffic: is less to be wondered at, when we reflect on the *extravagance* of their Views, and when we consider the Depravity and Imbecility of Mankind to be such, that even the Distance our Island is removed from them, has not been sufficient to preserve some of our unguarded Sovereigns, from the meanest Submissions to their *truly ridiculous* Authority!

That their more active Successors had Spirit and Address enough to break their Fetters, was but little Consolation

to their Subjects, since by availing themselves of a Power whose force they had experienced, and by the terrific Influence of their Priests, armed with the *real* Power of the Law, they ultimately Usurped nearly Absolute Monarchy.

Should even this fail to account for the pertinacious Defence of Mystery; the rapacious Influence of its ancient Ministers over, both the living and the *dying*, is still too visible in its Effects, not to enforce the most entire Conviction. For it will be difficult, independent of Tythes, to find three contiguous Parishes in this extensive Kingdom, in one of which the Church has not to this Day a considerable share.

But, in the present Times, when the Laws of Subordination are too firmly established

established to need the wretched Influence of Priests or of their Mysteries ; it appears astonishing that no Man has been virtuous and liberal enough, to remove the disgraceful Bandage from the intellectual Eyes of his deluded Brethren, and *artlessly* to demonstrate to them, the undoubted resources of plain Argument, in Matters of such serious and universal Importance.

I am ready to acknowledge that a religious System founded on mere Principles of Reason, (however sound the Basis) would have two dangerous *opposites* to struggle with. For, what can be more diametrically so? than prejudiced Bigotry, and interested Hypocrisy. For the latter, though in itself beneath the Notice of Candor, yet, as the Band is numerous, and as it is actuated by so powerful a Motive, nothing I fear but
their

their admission upon the same Terms of Interest they now stand on, could any how conciliate their concurrence in a Doctrine they cannot but believe, and might with far better conscience teach. But, for the first, however seriously worthy of Pity, they are but too formidable. For tho' its votaries often are, on many other Topics both learned and liberal, yet, are they so totally under the Influence of the erroneous Principle they are *possessed* with; that, precisely analogous to Mr. Lock's Definition of the Ingenious Madman, who firmly believing himself of Glass, would exert every Faculty of a fertile Genius in the protection of his brittle Frame, with equal Talents, tho' not with equal Temper, will they desperately defend their bigoted Opinions.

The very Nature of that Principle,
on

on which the Religion of Reason is founded, though perfectly calculated to *maintain* its Ground, yet, with such Adversaries ! could not but impede its Progress. Since, every *pious fraud* (however dangerously admitted by the best meaning Casuists,) must be *here*, scrupulously avoided : and, for Compulsion, even in the most equivocal Sense, nothing could less consist with that free Election of Reason which was proposed.

But, tho' it is certainly possible to be an exemplary Member of Society, nay, even to merit the Approbation and Reward of a Just Deity, by the unremitting practice of Virtue, from *merely* happy Inclinations, liberally cultivated. Yet, as such transcendent Examples cannot but be Scarce : and as the *general* frailty of Mankind, the *variety* of their Dispositions,

positions, the accidental turns and unequal cultivation of their Intellects, cannot but subject the worthier, to the atrocious Depredations of the Vicious ; some established Preventatives both compulsive and conciliatory are indispensibly requisite.

Laws, prescriptive of civil Conduct under rigorous Penalties, have, to a certain Degree proved effectual ; but, *as every man weary of his own Life, is perfectly Master of another's.* And, as independent of that, crimes may often be committed with the certainty of concealment, and still oftner under the Prospect of it. To render our Security somewhat less precarious ; the Assistance of Internal Checks is clearly necessary.

Of the two kinds, I will first consider

sider *that* which is *undoubtedly* of divine Institution ; nor (on this Occasion) is it possible to do so, without gratefully joining, with the enlightened *Montesquieu*, in acknowledgments to that *provident* Being, who has benignly implanted in the Breast of every Man, so eloquent a *Monitor* for our protection. But, can there be a stronger Argument for Probation ? than, that, in the Tumult of the Passions (which are its Test) even this heavenly Monitor is often silenced ; and that *then*, those under the baneful Influence of false Casuistry, and pernicious Habits, listen *only* to the selfish Dictates of Interest.—*Conscience*, if more powerful, had compendiously secured all earthly Happiness ; but, like Instinct, or any other divine infallible Rule, it had as effectually precluded the possible acquirement of Merit.

The

The remaining internal Check, though suggested by the Divineſt Objects, muſt, (as even the laſt Inſtance concurs in pointing out) be *purely human*. It ſhould be conciſe and *demonſtrative*, and ſhould tend to *convince our Reaſon* that, to be Virtuous, is eſſentially our Intereſt, and will ſurely be rewarded,—I have ſaid *demonſtrative*, for mere *Aſſertions* might fail of that Effect.

The following Articles of *Rational Faith*, being plain Concluſions, from unerring Principles; if they were *at an early Age*, temperately taught to all, and ſteadily inculcated every ſeventh Day, with Explanations *ad hominem*, by an able Commentator, could not but confirm and comfort, even the beſt diſpoſed Natures; they would tend to fix the luke-warm, and muſt often reclaim even the Vicious. The Objects they refer to,

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are

are awfully respectable, and the Deductions are (when once suggested) within the reach of every understanding.—The Whole Creed of RATIONAL THEISM tho' perfectly unequivocal, and devoid of Mystery, is calculated, effectually to militate against all possible Imposture.

1. That nothing can be more clearly manifest, than the Existence of the Deity, since, both that, and his consummate excellence, are every Day loudly asserted by *ceaseless Miracles*, in the wondrous accuracy and infinite variety of his Works.

2. That the unvarying Identity of the different Species, and the infallibility of their respective Instincts, permanently *deride* the wretched doctrine of Chance: and in concurrence with the *unerring* Progress of the amazing planetary System, unequivocally proclaim his Love of *Rectitude*.

3. That

3. That the *Immensify and Permanency* of the whole Creation, forcibly prove the Omnipotence, and naturally involve the *incorruptibility* of its Divine Author.

4. That as every article, of it *excepting Man*, is, apparently, subjected to unerring Laws, each seems to suffice to its allotted Functions, and the whole to have finally received its Destination.

5. That all supernatural Instruction or Agency as relative to human Transactions, involve *partiality*, and therefore cannot consist with an Independent Being ; who must of necessity be just.

6. That the Idea of Omnipotence, is inseperable from that of Unity.

7. That we can know of God, only what is manifested in his Works, for.

that the Contemplation of Infinite and Eternal, exceeds the Power of limited Faculties:

8. That yet, such of his Attributes as merely relate to us, that is, to our moral Duties, are clearly deducible from his Works, and, from the unerring Laws eternally imposed upon the Animal, the Vegetable and the Elementary Creation.

9. That *Man only* of the whole, being endowed with Reason, is, by that sole faculty, *exclusively* invested with the means of *acquiring* Merit. Which can consist only in the free Decision and steady Execution of what is *Laudable*, in opposition to the very best Actions of impulsive Instinct; which, tho' dirigible by the Reason of others, yet evidently preclude all natural Choice.

10. That,

10. That, as Probation, *therefore*, seems to be the chief Object of this distinguished faculty, the future Reward of its laudable Exertions, is but consistent with that just Diety who has *imposed* the Trial.

11. That tho' the human Intellect is subject to prejudice and to Disparity of Cultivation, yet the aggregate result of Knowledge and Experience being open to all, it is the Duty of all to Enquire.

12. That, as local Mysteries and Tenets are merely Accidental, and by consequence Discordant, they cannot be productive of any general Rule of Conduct, since none can, *justly*, supersede the other.

13. But that, *Reason being every where the same*, if we argue from eternal and

unalterable Principles, which are likewise universal ; such Doctrines being every where, equally demonstrable, need but the pure Cultivation of Integrity, to be universally adopted.

14. That as they *fairly* promise future Rewards to the Votaries of BENEVOLENCE AND FORTITUDE, which Virtues under their different modifications, include every moral and social Duty, there is every Reason to conclude, they would be universally beneficial.

15. That the chief Objects of *Probation* depend on Virtuous Action or steady Forbearance, as either may respectively conduce to Civil Benefit.—*That*, of *Rational Faith*, to conciliate and excite those Duties, and to confirm our perseverance in them. And tho' private Confidence is meritorious ; Blind acquiescence

escence in what shocks our Reason is an Impious prostitution of that divine Faculty.

Had I not *unequivocally* written what has occurred to me upon this Subject; I had acted inconsistently with my own Principles, for, I have ever freely Censured those, who instead of personally and explicitly committing to the World, any valuable Rule or Inference that their Application had been rewarded with, and that they might deem Interesting to Mankind; have been cautiously contented with the bare mention of their Discovery: *Veritatem reticere, aurum est sepelire*,—even Mr. Lock, whom it is almost Heresy to blame in any thing, had, I think, acted more consistently with his own Character, if, in lieu of leaving it to Posterity, he had candidly risked his Solution of that intricate

Problem concerning *Spirit*, which I, formerly, attempted with perhaps less Conviction to others than to myself.—The Negligence of the wise and virtuous Socrates is, in this respect, equally to be regretted: as he would probably have, *himself*, transmitted to Posterity far less embarrassed Ideas of those divine Truths which he had been so long and earnestly impressed with, as, to deem their discussion, worthy even of his last minutes.

But I will venture a still more interesting application of this Opinion, and ingenuously express my Doubts, if even the Doctrines of Christianity, would not have worn a very different Face, had they been *genuinely* delivered: that is, had they been written by their Author, or at least clearly digested by an able one, under his immediate Cognizance. For, if we may be permitted to conclude, from
many

many truly exalted moral Parts of them; a Free Speaker would be tempted to ascribe any that were less so, to the Error of those Writers by whom they were *posthumously* recorded.—Tho' Eyewitnesses, they had, by their own accounts, much want of Faith to expiate, and, under such Circumstances, might not their indiscreet Zeal have contributed (by proving too much) to invalidate that Cause they had, *now earnestly* engaged in the Support of? how else? could they possibly have recorded as fact; those Scenes which they evidently could not in, *general*, believe, but, which they expressed still more particular, at a *most-trying Period*!

For, I will appeal to the most incredulous, even in these wonder-working Times; whether, as mere spectators at the repeated performance of such *serious*
Miracles

Miracles, as are *injudiciously* recorded, they could have produced, among themselves, a nature so perverse, as to incur the reproach of even *once wanting Faith*.

What then? shall be said in excuse of those who (tho' so intimately connected with this astonishing personage, as actually to have assisted in his most private Transactions) could yet *perpetually* merit that reproach. And could in defiance of common sense (for I will wave Gratitude) not only deny, but for the merest Trifle, betray to Death, a Being of this rare Description, who had so descended as to associate them into his Friendship.—What indeed! shall be said and from whom Faith be expected? when one of these, is the pre-eminently distinguished Apostle!

The answer is clear, and it is that of
Condour.—

Candour.—Had the Writer on whose Relation we are *miserably reduced* to depend, been (in his Life Time) *really* impressed with the invaluable Merits of that excellent personage, they would neither have incurred those cutting Reproaches which they have themselves recorded, nor would they have irrevocably injured both their own Reputation, and the Cause of perfect Morality, by the ill-judged Relation of such Facts as could no how consist with the one, and were ill-calculated to support the other.

They would on the contrary, have transmitted to Posterity an artless Tale ;
neither varnished over with *Mystery,
nor

* The mystery of the *real Presence*, which under the perversions of sophistry, has impiously brought such numbers to the stake, is (if the words of the last supper are candidly considered) strikingly
analogous

nor fatally marred by Miracle. They
would

analogous to the ejaculations of a grateful Philosopher, in contemplative View of that Bread and Wine, that was about to be *assimilated to his own corporeal frame*; in the same manner as, by gradual, tho' sufficiently mysterious Process, his whole Body and Blood had arisen from, and were *actually* composed of that solid and liquid aliment, of which the Bread and Wine now before him, were but the respective Symbols. And of which the Apostles could not in future partake, (as their Master sententially observed) but, *in Remembrance of Him*.—At least, if they reflected, with any Gratitude, on that good cheer, of which, the Society he had long honoured them with, had been so often productive.

The sacred administration of Bread and Wine, (*accompanied with grateful Acknowledgements*) is a ceremony that might very consistently be *continued*, in the practice of RATIONAL THEISM. As symbolically alluding to that *natural* tho' astonishing Mystery, *Assimilation!* and in grateful Testimony of the Deity's having benevolently connected the accretion of our Frame, and the preservation of our corporeal Existence, with a Process so refreshing and congenial.



would *then*, probably have described a Being, full of penetrating Sense, Eloquence, Fortitude, Benevolence, and Meekness; whose Example bespoke all *possible* Imitation, and whose Organs seemed so habitually formed to the Task, that, to have believed the Precepts of the Deity, *actually* committed to their utterance, had been so naturally congenial to our Wishes, as to be nearly as reconcilable to Piety, as their adoption, would have been the indispensable Duty of Reason.

Should it be petulently urged, by the wretched Malice of Bigotry and of Hypocrisy; that I am sacrilegiously removing the sacred Props of Religion. I will confidently answer, that, tho' in a Mahometan Country, where the Cultivation of Science, and even of Letters, is suppressed, or, in a Savage Land, where the intellectual Faculties are, yet in Infancy,

such

such Arguments might be specious ; in these Countries and in these enlightened Times, nothing can be more absurd :— in these Times, I further say (when every Man, uniting sound Sense, with an unprejudiced Mind, would refute such Mysteries in the Compass of a Card, and with whom *such Props*, have long since ceased to exist) surely, to have proved them useless cannot have injured the Cause of true Religion : nor, can my Labours to establish in their stead, such as are above the Reach of Injury, be counted sacrilege.

Every Argument in these Tracts, tends seriously and effectually to demonstrate the eternal Existence of the Deity, the Necessity of his Justice, and by the soundest Inference, the pleasing Prospect of a future state, as the *due Reward of Virtue*. —

Virtue.—If, to have established such important Truths on solid Principles of Reason, and, to have rejected such absurdities, as, with the uncandid and undiscriminating, tend but to invalidate their Belief. If this be sacrilege (and it is the sum of my endeavour) I readily plead Guilty.—But, as the Virtuous and unprejudiced, will, at least, absolve me, and as I cannot, in these Days, have *Tudor* for my Judge. Conscious in the Integrity and universal Benevolence of my Intentions, I shall ever meet my Sentence with Steadiness and Confidence.

I will only add, that to *enjoin* the Belief, even of these Truths, would be contrary to their own Principles. To relate, and to explain them often, cannot be wrong; and, to plain unprejudiced Sense, it is I trust, all that would be necessary for the most perfect Conviction;
and

and with it, the most steady Confirmation
of Virtue, with the most unequivocal
and pleasing Prospects.

————— *Si vera hæc tibi videntur.*

Dede manus.

2C MR 59

F I N I S.

A FORM OF
DAILY PRAYER,
FOR THE
PROFESSORS OF
RATIONAL THEISM.

CHELMSFORD, }
March 1st, 1788. }

THE DAILY PRESS

PROOF OF

NATIONALISM

HAVING already written all that I believe essential to the Doctrines of RATIONAL THEISM, it may not be improper to annex the only Species of *Daily Prayer* that can, as I have before observed, consist with such Professions.—It is, itself, in some Degree explanatory of the awful Relation subsisting between the DEITY and the human Race, it announces a constant Witness of our Actions, whether *virtual* or *immediate*, it cannot therefore, but remind us of the implied condition of our Existence, and of the very serious Importance of our Conduct in this probatory State.

I suppose it to be attentively repeated every Night on laying down to Rest: the Cares of the busy Day being then over, and the Scene, commonly, devoid of Light, is but the more calculated for awful Contemplation.—The humble, recumbent Posture being equally adapted either to Vigor or Infirmary of Body, will be the more readily, at all Seasons of Rest, suited to this Address, and to the unostentatious *mental* Exercise of it, even when accompanied: tho' by the mere substitution of the Plural in a few Parts of it, it may be likewise fitted for Society.

I pretend not to prescribe the actual Form, tho' this being nearly similar to what I have used these thirty Years, I deemed it but my Duty to set it down,—the Specific Sense and Substance is all I actually recommend.—I need scarcely observe that this Prayer clashes with no Form of Worship whatever.

THE PRAYER
OF THE
RATIONAL THEIST.

Omnipresent and benign DEITY, Who of Nothing, calledst me forth into Existence, and by imparting to me the distinguished Lot of rationality, hast qualified me to contend for the immortal Prize ; accept my grateful Thanks for all thy Bounties. Thy goodly Will be done, for Thou alone, in this eventful Trial, perceivest what is fitting for the anxious Child of thy Creation. —Yet, if Thou wilt descend to listen to my sole Petition, and if it be consistent with the Equity of Thy sacred Ordinances ; strengthen and confirm my Mind in steady Habits of FORTITUDE, BENEVOLENCE, DISCERNMENT, and INTEGRITY : that I may be thus rendered dear to my Fellow Creatures, contented with myself, and at the Last, I humbly hope, acceptable to THEE.

HALLOWED BE THY NAME O GOD.

Kentucky

(142)

THOUGHTS ON THE RISE AND DECLINE OF
THE POLITE ARTS, &c.

IT is a Fact worthy of Attention, that almost every Science or Art has shone in its greatest Splendor, at the apparent Period of its Commencement ; but what renders it an Object of still more interesting Consideration is, that if the Arts have at any time lain long dormant, the same Remark has been equally applicable at their Renewal.

What I here affirm, is I think, of too general Notoriety, to admit of its being in any sort disputed ; yet as a few Examples from different Ages and Countries, will be too shortly run over
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to tire much, and can therefore serve only to give it clearer Proof, I will begin with instancing Homer, who stands alone, and may in every Sense, justly be stiled the first of Poets, having (as far as could, from mere Tradition, be collected by the most antient Authors) preceeded by some Centuries, even the Civilization of Nations. Lycurgus and Solon stand foremost in the List of Legislators: Pericles, as a Statesman; Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Plato, as Philosophers; Thucydides and Xenophon, as Historians; and Phidias, as a Statuary, Architect, and general Director in all matters of ornamental Grandeur; these great Men as they excelled all, who came after them, even to the Time of Alexander, (which for Brevity, I will pass over, as it will be soon alluded to) so they were the first
 who

who in each Profession, after the *Firm* Establishment of civil Society in Greece, attempted it: I shall say nothing of their Painters, for their Works being perished, it is impossible to form (however specious) any real Judgment of their Merit.

If we descend about four hundred Years lower, we shall equally find the first Pretenders to it, the most conspicuous at Rome; and as the Dawning of Elegance in that famous City, was the Nurfing of Mecænas, he had likewise the compleat Satisfaction, of enjoying its full Meridian, of which Virgil and Horace give alone sufficient Testimony; there was, from a Century at most, after the Decease of that amiable Man, a rapid Decline, and soon a total Recess of Arts, for near fourteen
more;

more; when under the Protection and Encouragement of the Medicis Family, they again *at once* took Giant-Strides, in the Persons of Guicciardini, Machiavel, Ariosto, Tasso, Michael, Angelo, Leonardo, Titian, Raphael, and Coreggio, besides many others; and after flourishing about a Century and Half, had a most splendid and noble Exit, in the Bolognese School, under the three Caracci, and their three egregiously finished Pupils: Here too, as formerly in Greece, they travelled a few hundred Miles, and seemed after the same Lapse of Time, in the same Degree to regain their Vigour by a Change of Soil.

There appears a kind of Uniformity in the Progress of these distant Events, more imputable to the consequentially

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necessary Effect of some latent Cause, than to that of mere Hazard; and though directly to penetrate that Cause would be no easy Task, yet it might in some measure lead to the Discovery, if we could prove (from a State of the Circumstances in which those set out, who first arrived at Consummacy in each profession) that precisely such a Situation was best calculated for the producing a like Proficiency, and that when arrived at a certain Degree of Excellence, Reasons equally plausible were assigned for their Decline. if prosecuted on the Spot of their native Growth.

In order to the accounting for so seemingly strange a Truth, I will lay down one Supposition, founded I think in Reason; it is, that though there may be well allowed to exist in human Nature,

ture, most extraordinary Aptitudes to Genius, yet no one can be truly asserted to have been ever actually born with it, since innate Ideas of Perfection are at *least* as repugnant to Reason, as those of other Matters, nor could they by any other natural Means, possibly enter the Mind, than by those of Comparison, and should be therefore always understood as relative only.

Let us believe then, that Homer, and every other Leader in his respective Way, was blest with his happy Disposition, which I take to consist chiefly in an investigating Turn to inquire after, a clear Judgment to distinguish, and an Indefatigable and emulous desire to excel what he has once found to have real Merit, which when extracted, in however small a Quantity, from the Dross

it was furrounded with, he cautiously sets by, and relies on, as the Criterion, and sterling *Touch*, often to be recurred to, for the Trial of his future Labours.

As the fabulous Times of Heroism, Apotheism, and Mystery, could not fail of furnishing, to an accurate and diligent Searcher, a Model of this Nature, so it is the only Model, that could possibly lay no prejudicial Constraint upon the Fancy; which would neither be cramped by servile Attention to a compleat Original, nor circumscribed by the Fear of Repetition, and must consequently (amidst an endless Variety of Virgin Materials) be left to the most free unbounded Pursuits; which, if on Examination, they were found too luxuriant, might at pleasure be reduced to the Standard of his precious Fragment;

ment; nay, even the Trash he had discarded to obtain it, would be a rigorous Lesson to him, for the like Treatment of such of his own Productions as might suffer by a Comparison.

To avoid Prolixity and Confusion, I will confine myself to proving that the above Principles are in all Respects as applicable to Statuary and Painting, as to Poetry, and that where either is arrived at its Zenith, (it must, if the most providential Precautions be not taken to prevent it,) soon decline; that unavoidable Restraint, which perfect and *entire* Models will ever lay upon the Imagination, being, through the Interestedness of Parents, even solicited; for instead of consulting the real Inclinations of Nature, at an Age when it might truly declare itself, Children are

at best cheated into a too early Preference of that Profession, by which the Father's Avarice, Vanity, or Convenience, is likely easiest to be served; if it happens to be that of Statuary or Painting, the first Years are generally worse than lost, in copying the Works of their Master, or suppose even those of the most eminent, with a view to the Forming his Hand and his Judgment; and in fact it does so to a Degree (if he succeeds at all,) that becomes habitual, and can never after be sufficiently conquered, to admit of even an Attempt to a genuine Production; examine the Works of Students under this absurd Constraint, if the Scene and Dress be a little varied in them, the same Set of Gestures and of Countenances, ever plainly discovers from what *Troop* the Actors were borrowed; it might not
impro-

improperly be termed a Species of Compilation; it is like that too, ever accompanied with inseparable Tameness.

Can the Indifference of Patrons then be wondered at, or the Decline which must of Consequence follow it: I will only add, as a corroborating Proof of this Opinion, that the Egyptians, who by a mistaken Law were compelled to pursue the same Profession with their Fathers, in Despite of their indefatigable Perseverance in the Way of Sculpture, have never produced one tolerable Statue, Bas-relief, Gem, or Medal, tho' the Quantity they have left behind them is without Number.

In Opposition to a Conduct that appears so evidently pernicious to the Polite Arts, if the State I have endeavoured
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to give of their Rise, Progress, and Decline, be a just one, Rules for their Perfection and Permanency, may with the most obvious Facility be drawn from it.

Let us presume then, that like a Pædagogue or a Mæcenas, the Person, who has Spirit and Taste enough to undertake the Patronage and Cultivation of Talents, has likewise Discernment, judiciously to select the aptest of the many ingenious and promising Youths with which every Nation is furnished, and whose Hands (though destined by the Perverseness of their Parents to very different Employments) are already *formed* by the irresistible Propensity of Nature; indulged perhaps by Stealth, or for Recreation at their Hours of Leisure; in such nothing would be wanting, after having made it their Interest and their
Duty

Duty to pursue the real Impulse of their Fancy, but to supply them with the Means of doing it with Success,

Thus far might well have been formerly the Case, but as the imposing Influence of finished Works, could not then exist, it should now (if we would set out under a just Parity of Circumstances) be industriously obviated; yet as the totally avoiding it, would (if it were possible) be attended with much Trouble the best Way would be to make of Necessity, Virtue, and in the Way of *Stimulus*, occasionally to shew them, as a Reward to such as had already contracted an approved Manner of their own; at the same Time pointing out such Excellencies, as the young Proficients might be themselves defective in, and not forgetting any Faults, which might

might encourage them to the Hopes of attaining to greater Excellence.

Their first regular Study should however be guided by Rules founded on the antient Principle, with this only profitable Deviation from it, that every *useful* Advantage should be taken of the Experience and Perfection of former Ages, and the Pains and Difficulty of fixing Standards of what is masterly and elegant, effectually saved.

In Conformity then to this Maxim, each Student should be provided with a *perfect Limb*, cast from the most finished Statues extant, and its Character, whether of active Strength, or of Elegance and Delicacy, suited to the Turn of the Student, whose Taste was to be formed upon it; they should have besides, each,
a Set

a Set of Bones, well put together, for the Study of Osteology, and as both Beauty and Figure are *intirely founded* on the Structure of the Bones, these should be prepared from the best made Subject that could be got; in which, if the Head was unequal in Merit to the other Parts, one of a *proper Size* should be procured, having (as in the best Grecian Sculpture) the Eye-Sockets or Brows, *prominent*, particularly on the Temple-Sides) and *capacious*; it matters not how they were filled when living, the Front should also be *high* and well *inclined*; when the solid parts are great and *square*, they may be filled and covered at the will of the Artist; and as a Proof of what Importance a strict Observance of this Ground-Work may be, it was solely to that, with a close Attention to the pleasing Passions, that

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the inimitable Coreggio owed his great Reputation, for he was evidently but little versed in academical Drawing: It is to this Defect, that though extremely industrious to a very advanced Age,* I should attribute his having left behind him so inconsiderable a Number of finished Pictures; he had certainly a nice and difficult Eye, and I suppose such exquisite Sensibility himself, as not to be satisfied with copying the Feelings that Nature commonly expresses; he would exceed them, and his Want of Knowledge of the Muscles, on which all Expression must depend, might in that case well occasion such endless Retouches, as both protracted the Work, and dried, and thickened the Mass of Colours, to a Degree that even required his Thumb to spread them, in some of his best Performances.

I will

* Vasari however asserts that he died under forty.

I will now follow my Subject, without excusing a Digression, which when on the Actions of such a man, can never be thought foreign to it.

The Study of the Muscles should on the contrary, be made from continually varied Subjects, the homelier the better, if they were *truly* and *strongly* marked, that the Stile of the Pupil might have no Chance of forming itself on the constrained or uncouth Attitudes of a Porter.

In order to the speedy and effectual Attainment of this Knowledge, it should be the constant Lesson, even of Beginners, after having copied the exact opposite Sides of a human Figure, in the same continued Posture, a *third* and *fourth* Time, to fill the Out-line (*which*
is

is the same in both,) with the Muscles of the contrary Side, it would at once confirm their Memory, and their Judgment, as either must in this Case reciprocally help the other; the more advanced Students, should fill and shade the Contour, from their Knowledge alone, unassisted by the Recollection of a preceding Copy; the utmost that should be allowed in this Lesson, should be the Bones, which should indeed accompany every Lesson.

Cast's should also be taken from strong Subjects carefully *slay'd* in a lax, a tense, and a middle Position, for studying the Contexture of the Muscles, at the Angles of their Immersion: Likewise, a well injected Subject should be carefully prepared, with a View to explaining their Origin and Insertion; they
should

should also be taught to transfer the Expression of an ordinary Countenance, that had much of it, to that of an unanimated Beauty ; in all their Works, they should keep in View the Stile of their *Fragment*, and when arrived at Perfection and Truth, in what is called Design, which with the Dispositions that were premised (thus cultivated) they would very shortly be, with both Entertainment and Ease to themselves, competitionary Tasks should be given them, in which the Story, or Act alone should be ascertained, the Drawing, or the Model first made, then the Picture, or Statue, and two Prizes given, the far greatest for Composition, which should include Gracefulness, Distinctness, Keeping as it is called, or true Perspective, and Accord, or Harmony of Colours. The second Prize for Expression, and both,

to him who excels in each; as to good Drawing. it is implied, or they could not be admitted as Candidates; the same Rule should take place in Statuary, omitting in the first Prize a View to what can relate only to Painting.

The Laws of Perspective, and the reading Translations from Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch's Lives, and the Mythology of the Heathens, should employ their Candle-light and Leisure Hours; furnished with academical Knowledge of this Kind, which should terminate their Apprenticeship; when compleated, *however early*, there would be little Danger of their deigning to imitate even a Policletus; it is far more probable that they should aspire to the excelling all who had hitherto preceded them.

To

To explain what constitutes Grace and Elegance, is, by Words alone, I confess, somewhat difficult; the Models in order to the doing it effectually should be present; yet as I have already gone much further into this Inquiry than I at first intended, I will try at least to fix some leading Maxims towards the conveying an Idea of it, by mere oral Explanation.

If Gracefulness were not intrinsically meritorious, but a mere *Feather in the Cap of Youth*, (for I shall endeavour to found this too on Reason) it could never have been so universally applauded; let us conclude it then to have its *real* Advantages, and to what can they be more justly annexed, than to an exact *Propriety of Action*, which if at the same Time so *habitual* as to

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mark

mark no constrained Attention to its Observance, is true Elegance; its seeming the Result of innate Direction, is what stamps a genuine Nobleness upon it, in Opposition to that, awkwardly contracted from Imitation, which, as it implies an original Want of it, so it is easily discoverable by a partial, occasional, forced Display, and a precise Repetition of it; for, as Habit has in most Men, caused such a Predilection for one Hand, as even to term it the Right, to the actual Prejudice of the other, whose very Strength, as well as Address, is impaired by it, so it fares with the Muscles in general; if they have not from his Infancy been *properly* exercised, they are throughout the whole Man, in the same Predicament with the Left Hand: Observe for Instance but a Clown, he invariably moves the whole Limb,

Limb, for what required only its Extremity, the *Fist* for the Fingers, which have commonly lost even the Power of Extention, and are become nearly similar to, and as useless as the Toes; he is in Danger every Step, for the Foot is sure to be the last in a Line perpendicular the Burthen it should support; he loses half his Vigour and his Height, by an ill-judged Laxity from the Ankle to the Neck: The Part above his Knee, and what should be the Small of his Leg, is loaded with Muscles, that for want of bracing, have never taken a tendonous Form; he does all Things with equal Force, his Spoon is *grasped* as his Pitch-fork; in short, he is become from his slovenly Carriage, so totally oppressed with continued Lassitude, that if he but seat himself, you tremble for the Chair into which he abandons his unweildy Mass.

This is, you will say, an Image of Sloth indeed! allowed, it is that of the lowest human State; but grant too, that though endless the Degrees, the nearer any Man approaches to this, the greater will be his Difficulty in contracting Habits of Elegance; and, that if a thorough Boor, could be at *Man's Estate*, at once inspired with a true *Conception* of every Requisite to the Attainment of Propriety, his very training of the Muscles to an Obedience of his Will, would be like teaching to the Left, the Right-Hand's Cunning, which when effected, would ever clash with the Appearance of Limbs, no longer perhaps reducible to graceful Form.

From this negative View, some Idea may be conceived of what Grace and Elegance would be; King Charles could

could find it even in Things inanimate; Let us, though not strictly in point, for Curiosity, examine by the above Principle, those which he is said to have called the three noblest Objects. The first is a perfect Horse, and in Truth, can there be imagined a Form and Action more graceful, and better calculated to its End, than what is seen in that useful Animal? The Woman, which he supposes great with Child, is probably indebted for his Preference, to the having been *gradually* compelled (by an imperceptible Attention to her State) to make every Movement to Advantage. Thirdly, the Ship, under full and swelling Sail, though she proclaims every Power effectually employed, yet with what superior and becoming Ease she gildes along. Whether their Appearance was what alone constituted

their pre-eminent Merit in the King's Opinion, or that it was founded (tho' less in Character) on a Prospect of the future Benefit each might be productive of, or the joint Result of Reflection upon both, I will not pretend to determine; but we must at least confess, that they are all three strongly marked with an apparently unconstrained *Propriety of Action*.

If we consider the best Grecian Sculpture, whether Statues or Figures in relief, we shall find the Form of their respective Limbs to be such, as implies their having been exercised from their infancy, with a view to the Character represented, and consequently, that the Attitude they are placed in, far from being uneasy, was what Habit of itself invited the Muscles to assume, which, it

is

is well known to Anatomists, impress their forms upon the very Bones, in strong and active Men. Their Orators, and other erect Figures are usually represented as in Motion, which they justly express by an almost strait Knee, in the advanced supporting Limb; the other, in nearly a Line behind it, is bent, and raised upon the Toe, in Readiness to be brought forward: In those supposed standing in a fixed Position, the hind Knee is nearly strait, sustaining almost the whole Weight, the foremost somewhat bent, the Toe moderately turned out, and at some *lateral* Distance from the other, but very little before it; could any Postures more distinctly answer the Intention, the first would be uneasy, were any Thing besides Motion meant; the second is at once the most firm, advantageous, and unaffected,

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As both these Attitudes (the Propriety of which will scarcely be disputed) must imply a necessary Contrast in the lower Limbs, they must likewise equally affect the body, and by consent of Parts, influence the upper ones; for if the Weight is for Steadiness and Convenience, chiefly reposed on one Leg, it will be found eligible in most Actions to use the contrary Arm, as the freest, because on the Side most at rest; and at any Rate, (if we wish them to appear unconstrained) to vary the Action of both; parallel Lines than we see, and Regularity of Action, are as unapt and uneasy, as they appear unpicturesque and inclegant.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ADVANTAGES
ATTENDING AN ELEVATED AND DRY
SITUATION.

I FIND it to have been the general Practice of our Ancestors, (if we except a few old Castles, and those mostly on the Banks of Rivers) to fix their Country-houses in Vallies; of the two Reasons commonly assigned for it, one is, that of avoiding bleak Winds; the other is, plentifully to avail themselves of the Benefit of Water: As to the first, I am by no means clear that the collected Direction Gusts of Wind acquire in their Course along Bottoms, is not more violent and dangerous, than its more equal, though constant Effects on an Eminence; but I am at all Events
sure,

sure, that the Advantages in Point of Health and Prospect, are greatly in favour of the higher Land: In answer to the second, I say, that however necessary Water may be, those who are situated in Vales, are not only subject to the Inconvenience of its occasional Encroachments, and of constant Damps; but have likewise that of its being for the most Part turbid.

It is urged, that those who build on Hills, have, after being at a great Expence in sinking Wells, still the constant Tax of daily Labour remaining, to raise Water from an immense Depth, which when done, is generally subject to be what is called *hard* and unfit for many household Uses.

It

It is amazing that not one of our English Travellers (at least that I know of) should have yet, among their many Luxuries, adopted the ingenious Contrivance of the Venetians, whose Houses, though built upon Piles, in the midst of the Sea (which literally washes them) are better supplied with fresh Water, and of a better Quality, than those of almost any Town I have else met with; nor will it, I believe be wondered at, when I have set down their sensible Method of securing it.

Besides public Wells, of which there are many in that City, each House, if not very uncommonly poor, has one *at least*, in either its Court-yard, or its *Landing-room*; the Figure of that Part of it, which is under-ground, is similar to an Egg, with its small End downwards, which

which not only facilitates the Cleaning it when necessary, but enables them to draw even the last Gallon of Water; the Stones it is built with, are cemented together with Terras Mortar, to prevent the Percolation of the Sea-water, and if porous, plaistered with it; its Capacity is proportioned to the Size and Occasions of the Family; the Top is closed with an Arch, still observing the Egg Form, but at its broad End, all to a circular Opening of about three Feet diameter, which is capped with an ornamented Stone, about three Feet high, hollowed within, for the Convenience of drawing Water, serving likewise to key the Arch, and as it is well fitted on, with the same Mortar, nothing can drop or be swept in; those who are over nice, cover the Top, in order

order to exclude even the *pure* Rain or Snow; in any Country but Venice a covering might be *really* necessary to keep out *leaves*; since the Communication of any Vegetable would soon animate, and when those Animals died, corrupt the Water.

Thus far it may be said in every Thing but its Form, to resemble a common Rain-cistern, which indeed it would not much surpass did it not differ in the Manner of supplying it, which as it at once purifies the Water, and prevents its corrupting (unless by the above accidental Means) constitutes its whole Merit; between the Well then, I have described, and a small underground Cistern, that *first* receives the Water, as it comes in Pipes from the House-tops, is a covered Space or Channel, the longer the
the

the better, filled with different loose Beds, *one before the other*, of Sand, Gravel, Chalk, and such other Fossils, as shall filter, cleanse, and impregnate the Water passing through it in a Manner nearly analogous to natural soft Springs (from which the Hint was probably taken) so that each Family may have Water at command, of the precise Kind they best like, by examining the Soil leading to any Spring that pleases their Taste, and if they chuse it, even transporting to that End, some of the very Earth it runs through; they might even have Calibeats or any other Waters they wished for in separate Wells, tho' supplied by the same Rain Pipes.

Now that I am on the Subject of high Situations, I cannot omit describing a Species of subterraneous Granary, which I have often wondered should be peculiar

to the Town of Pisa in Tuscany, where *only* I have observed them; (altho' they were certainly in use on the African Continent as long back as Cæsar's Time, and are clearly described by that great and accurate Observer;) they might, I think, be used with still greater Convenience upon Eminencies, and the more so in this Country, for, after the ordinary Method we build them in, besides the Room they occupy, they have rather an uncouth Appearance near an elegantly disposed Villa, whereas upon the Pisan Plan, they may be on the Plot before the House, without being even perceived, not to mention their obvious Advantages in garrisoned Towns.

They are built with common Brick, in the exact Form, as far as is underground, of the Venetian Wells, the
only

only Difference being in the Top, which is carried up only within six Inches of the Surface of the Earth, a round Hoop of Stone, about twenty Inches in Diameter, keys the Arch, to this a Cover is exactly fitted, with a Ring to draw it up by, and if necessary, a Bar and Padlock, then the Earth and Turf laid over it as if nothing was there; when it is to be stored, the Turf is cut up as thick as can be, to prevent its fading, the Stone swept and removed, and a Man let down, who beginning at the Bottom, coils a thick Rope of Hay, Straw, or Rushes, *Beehive Fashion*, to the Top, which Lining effectually keeps out the Damps, as may easily be conceived, since the Magazines at Pisa are close to the River Arno, and below its Bed: I cannot however affirm that they are not built with

with Terras Morter (which if so, would even here be no great Expence) though I believe they are not: it need scarcely be added, that by the same Aperture, a Man let down with a Bushel, sends up what Quantity of Corn is wanted, the whole being shot in loose: There are in the above City, I suppose, forty of them, in about half an Acre of Ground, each in general twelve or fourteen Feet Diameter in the widest Part, the usual Proportion of the Egg, will mark its Height.

Another Convenience attending a high Situation, is what mere Accident once pointed out to me; *beneath* the Cellar of a * House I happened to inhabit, a subterraneous Vault was discovered

* The House *was* that of the famous Salvator Rosa at Rome, and is still of his descendants.

covered, and as it was of ancient Structure, and both elegant and substantial, a little Pair of winding Stairs being adapted to it, it became an under Story to the Cellar; the first was cold as ordinary Cellars are, but the second was many Degrees more so than any Ice-house I ever saw; and I was from that Moment convinced, that an Under-Cellar, would, for the cooling of Wines, for making Ices, (which when prepared should be carried down to it, and for keeping Ice the Summer through, be a most commodious and cheap Addition to any House, where the Springs did not rise too high to prevent its taking place; it has the Advantage of needing no double Doors, nor any of those troublesome Precautions, necessary in common Ice-houses; it besides serves many Purposes, it is at Home, and is *not in Sight*.

